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Studies in the Comunero Revolution 1520-1521

James S. Amelang
Oberlin College

STUDIES IN THE COMUNERO REVOLUTION 1520-1521

HISTORY HONORS

BY
JIM AMELANG

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No teníamos Rey sino un bobo, e que el diablo avía traydo a la Emperatriz a Castilla, que era una bívora como su abuela la qual avía traydo esta mala ventura de Inquisición a Castilla e que ella la sustentava. Que pluguiese a Dios que viniese de Francia guerras o que duraran las Comunidades para que destruiran la Inquisición que los tenía echado a perder a todos...

PEDRO CAZALLA

A NECESSARY INTRODUCTION

My attention was drawn to the problem of the revolution of the Comunidades by a chance rereading of the Bible of Hispanic history, Sr. Jaime Vicens Vives' Approaches to the History of Spain (cf. Bibliography). Sr. Vicens notes in his discussion of sixteenth-century Castille that one of the "noble elements" that was "pruned" by the rising orthodoxy was "the bourgeois ideal in the War of the Comunidades" (p. 97). My suspicions were immediately aroused by this remark, as I have always deferred to J.H. Elliott's characterization of the Comuneros as traditionalist, quasi-feudal reactionaries. A hasty perusal of Elliott (cf. Bibliography) failed to resolve the contradiction, and, having smelled a rat, I began to do preliminary research on the Comuneros. I soon found that serious scholarly investigation of the subject had been carried out by only a handful of historians. This is not to say that Spanish historians and other Hispanists had overlooked the Comunidades-- far from the contrary. However, it was quite apparent that the revolt/revolution of the Comuneros was one of those lamentable historical events which are often commented upon but very rarely understood.

The complex nature of the problem, plus the strongly ideological character of its various nineteenth and twentieth century interpretations led me to be wary of formulating any sweeping generalizations about the ultimate goals and historical significance of the Comuneros. Thus it was after some two months of preliminary reading that I sat down to draw up a few tentative conclusions. They were:

> first, that in terms of both "method" and "intent", the so-called "revolt" of 1520-21 could be more properly termed a "revolution", albeit an unsuccessful one. (Hence the title of the thesis...)

> second, that there were indeed valid economic as well as political reasons for this revolution, a fact totally ignored by both the more traditional historians and the "revisionist" Maravall (cf. below, pp. 58-76); and
>
> third, that the economic causes of the revolution were without a doubt intimately related to the general crisis of the Castillian middle class during the early modern period (15th-17th centuries).

Providence, for better or worse, was not content to let sleeping dogs lie, and I soon encountered that dread experience that all fledgling historians must sooner or later confront: that is, there is only one thing worse than being proved wrong, and that is being proved right. My particular comeuppance came in the form of seven hundred pages of Gallic erudition (J. Pérez' La Révolution des Comunidades de Castille, Bordeaux, 1970), which brilliantly confirmed my nascent hypotheses. Needless to say, my initial joy at seeing my conclusions supported by such a fine piece of work soon gave way to the Angst of temporarily finding myself without an "original" thesis topic. It was, as Mr. Neil would say, a definite Verschlimmernbesserung.

Chanukah led to a recuperation of both energy and conviction, and my spirits were buoyed by the realization that even a work as "definitive" as M. Pérez' lacked the cardinal (Papal?) virtue of infallibility. In particular I disagreed with part of his assessment of the role of the "conversos" (converted Jews) in the Comunidades, and began to investigate the supposedly non-existent "ideological" basis for the revolution. The outline of the present thesis gradually emerged during Winter Term, and research was terminated during the second week of February.

I note the preceding as a means of explaining the peculiar structure of

this paper, which consists of two major essays, which were written independently of each other and which differ substantially in form and content. The first essay treats the role of the conversos in the Comunero revolution, and, like Gaul, is divided into three major parts: the history of the formation of the converso class, a consideration of converso participation in the Comunidades, and a general assessment of the middle class nature of the Comunero movement. My researches in the Comunidades had led me at an early stage to a conclusion of fundamental importnace: that the defeat of the Comuneros in 1521 was merely the capstone of a policy of royal absolutism and economic reaction that had been initiated in the late fifteenth century by the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabel. The Comunidades per se was an event of overriding historical significance to the extent that it was the last viable opportunity to reverse the various trends operating to the eventual frustration of the development of both capitalism and modern representative government in Castille. Hence I deemed it futile to study the events of 1520-21 without first considering in depth their origins: that is, the economic and political policies of the Catholic Kings. Another factor that proved to be influential in my choice of the conversos as the focus of this first study was the close relations between the New Christians and the urban middle class of Castille: as evidenced time and time again, the fortunes of the former group were irrevocably bound up with those of the latter. For these reasons I have chosen to examine in detail the history of the converso class in the fifteenth century, which may well prove to be the most crucial area of study in the history of modern Spain.

The second essay is an attempt to reconstruct a chronological historiography of the Comunero revolution. While an initial though rather incomplete historio-

graphy was included in Pérez' article "Pour une nouvelle interpretation des Comunidades de Castille" (cf. Bibliography), there was obviously a need for an updating of this study, so as to include the important recent researches of Elliott, Maravall, Castro, and Pérez himself, as well as some earlier writers neglected in the article (the chronicles, Sandoval, Robertson, Tapia, as well as subsidiary monographical works). So the second portion of this thesis has been devoted to a comprehensive historiography of the Comuneros, including both modern and contemporary sources.

I must note the lack of availability of primary sources here at Oberlin as a principal factor in my decision to construct a rather strictly historiographical essay. Of particular importance was the absence of M. Danvila's collection of archival documents; needless to say, it would have been impractical to have attempted to obtain the six volumes through Interlibrary Loan. I was also not able to consult at first hand several other studies (notably Häbler, Giménez Fernández, Menéndez Pidal, Tierno Galván, Luis Redonet, plus several local historians), but I feel that I have been able to consult nearly all the essential works on the subject.

The work concludes with three appendices, with notes and a bibliography. The first appendix consists of a short list of prominent conversos involved in the Comunero revolution. As I drew upon a wide variety of sources in the making of this list (most of them literary in nature), I chose not to footnote this section. For the interested reader, most of the names can be located in Márquez Villanueva's study of Álvarez Gato and in Gutiérrez Nieto's article on the con-

versos and the Comunidades. The other appendices are self-explanatory.

While I have included a brief account of the events of 1518-1522 on pages 1-5, I have nonetheless followed customary practice and have addressed myself at times to questions of a rather specific nature. Readers seeking further information on the background and chronology of the revolution are referred to the excellent general study by J.H. Elliott.

Some final notes on style: for full bibliographical references for works cited in the notes, the reader is referred to the Bibliography on pp. 110-117. All translations, unless otherwise acknowledged, are my own. Footnote 71 on pp. 106-107 is merely an excursive wish-fulfillment of my lifelong secret ambition to be a preacher; I feel that after having spent the last eight months dealing with Spanish historians I am entitled to let off a little steam.

In conclusion, I would like to extend my gratitude to those friends who have helped in the completion of this project. Thanks are due to my advisors Mr. Sanford Shepard and Sr. Miguel Bretos who charitably assumed the Quixotic task of trying to shape this paper into an acceptable final product. I would also like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the long-suffering members of the Library Reference staff, who obtained more than forty books and articles for me through Interlibrary Loan. I also thank Srta. María P. Sánchez Diez for having braved the wilds of the Madrid bureaucracy to obtain several important documents. To her I dedicate this pound of flesh.

Needless to say, I am responsible for all errors contained herein.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COMUNIDADES

The fifteen years following the death of Queen Isabel of Castille in 1504 saw various attempts to disrupt the exceedingly fragile achievement of unity and social peace that had marked the final years of the reign of the "Catholic Kings" (Isabel, Queen of Castille 1474-1504; Ferdinand, King of Aragon 1479-1516)[1]. Perhaps one of the more significant indications of the rather superficial character of the union of the crowns was the fact that the Castilian succession passed not to her capable husband Ferdinand but to her eldest surviving daughter, Juana, who was married to Philip of Burgundy, son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. The short reign of Philip and Juana witnessed the increasing diminution of effective royal power in Castille through the forced retirement of Ferdinand to Aragon and the resurgence of various aristocratic factions to positions of authority reminiscent of the civil wars and anarchy of the fifteenth century. Philip's assumption of royal power, while abetted by various elements within the upper and middle classes (especially the conversos, deeply involved in royal finance and administration), aroused deep resentment among the Castillian population at large. Complaints centered around the "liberal" religious tendencies of the royal household (i.e. its close association with the conversos) as well as the crown practice of awarding high offices and large pensions to foreigners. The unexpected death of Philip in 1506 left the government of the country in the hands of a regency, as Queen Juana was, in spite of much popular sympathy, adjudged incompetent to rule. The strict reign of the Regents Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros and later King Ferdinand did not suffice to quell discontent and faction, and the death of Ferdinand in 1516 and the subsequent proclamation of Charles as king seemed to many to herald the further debilitation of the royal authority in Castille.

The young King arrived in Spain on Sept. 19, 1517, accompanied by a large entourage of Flemish advisors and courtiers headed by Guillaume de Croy, Sieur de la Chièvres.[1] Charles was not overly impressed by his new kingdom, nor was it very impressed with him. A session of the Cortes, or Parliament of Castille was held at the temporary capital of Valladolid during the first months of 1518.[3] Discontent was voiced against the "rapacious Flemings" who had empowered themselves of the royal administration and liberally lined their pockets with Castillian gold,[4] and against Charles' assumption of the title of king while his mother was still living.[5] Following the conclusion of the Cortes, Charles left Valladolid for Aragón (where various of the Aragonese Cortes were convoked), and resided in Barcelona until January 1520.

On June 28, 1519 Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor, an event of transcendental significance for the future of his Iberian dominions. Protest over the method of the election, the continued maladministration of the Flemings, and general uncertainty concerning the impact of the Imperial responsibility upon the internal economic and political development of Castille led to the issue of the Circular Letter of Sept. 18, 1519 by the city of Toledo. The following months saw increasing agitation by the cities of the Castillian meseta (Toledo, Zamora, Salamanca, Ávila, Segovia, Medina, and Valladolid) as well as the commercial center of Burgos to the north, and various Andalusian cities.

Charles returned to Castille in March 1520, to be confronted by anti-Imperial riots in Valladolid. Forced from the city by a mob, he rapidly retired north to Galicia, from whence he intended to embark for Germany to assume title of his Imperial dominions (an inheritance made insecure by the recent Lutheran agitation). Before leaving, he convoked a reunion of the Cortes in Santiago de Compostela (April 1520, prorogued to La Coruña in May) in order to obtain an

extraordinary "servicio", or grant for the expenses of his Imperial trip. Castillian opposition to recent royal policy had developed considerably during the spring months. The principal complaints centered around the many abuses committed by Charles' Flemish advisors (including the exportation of gold from the realm, the appropriation of the see of Toledo for Chièvres' nephew, and the appointment of foreigners to the highest state offices), as well as the King's general lack of contact with his Castillian subjects. Charles made several vague promises of reform (including a pledge to appoint a native governor during his absence), but even so the servicio was voted only over the protest of a large number of cities (Salamanca and Toledo being notably absent) and through a series of none too delicate bribes. Charles left for Germany on May 20, having appointed Adrian of Utrecht (Dean of Louvain, and future Pope Hadrian VI)— a Fleming— as Governor of Castille.

The immediate reaction of the Castillian cities was revolt. Already on April 16, royal authority in Toledo had been ended by riots leading to the proclamation of a "Comunidad"[6], or commune. The month of June saw insurrection in nearly all the Castillian cities, most notably Burgos, Segovia, and Zamora. On July 29, coordinated action among the cities began in the institution of the "Santa Junta", or Holy League, comprised of delegates from over half the principal municipalities of the realm, which met in the Cathedral of Ávila.

The Governor-Regent Adrian attempted to reassert royal authority from his headquarters in the city of Valladolid, and in mid-August a punitive expedition under the leadership of Rodrigo Ronquillo and Antonio de Fonseca was mounted against the city of Segovia. The unsuccessful campaign was climaxed by the burning of the great trade center of Medina el Campo by the royalist troops on Aug. 21, which overnight served to galvanize the Holy League into action.

The "Comuneros" hastened to capture the city of Tordesillas, which assured them of the person of Queen Juana, who nonetheless refused to either support or condemn their program. On Sept. 24, 1520, the Comuneros drew up a list of rather moderate demands known as the "Capítulos de Tordesillas" (Capitularies of Tordesillas), and on the following day oaths were sworn to the "Solemn League" (i.e. the Santa Junta now in session at Tordesillas).

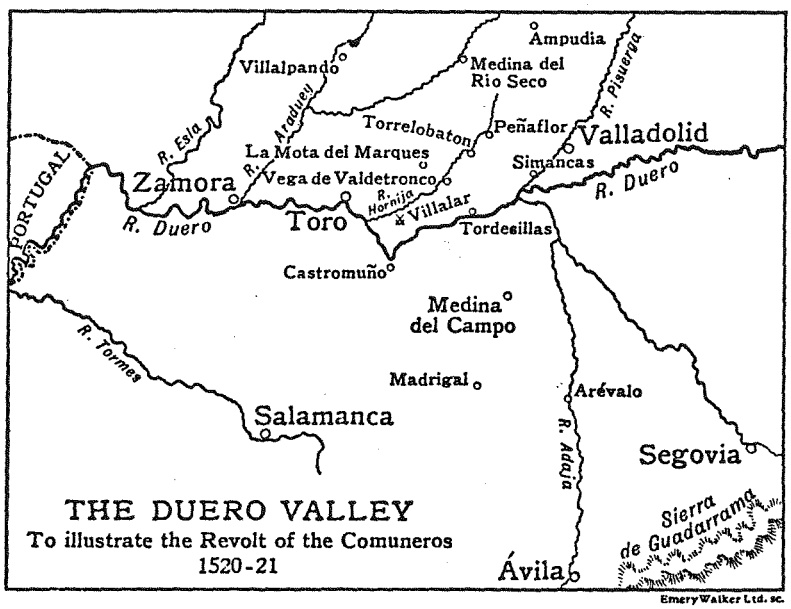
From the beginning the Comunidades had been instigated and supported by the cities of Castille. The middle class Comuneros had gained adherence from certain nobles (notably D. Pedro Girón, the Count of Salvatierra, and the Bishop Acuña) and from the peasantry (as exemplified by the anti-seigneurial revolt of Las Dueñas on Sept. 1). However, during the months of September and October, aristocratic adherence to the uprising fell sharply, and on Sept. 5, Charles appointed as new co-Governors D. Pedro Velasco, Constable of Castille, and D. Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral. The Constable, from his headquarters in Burgos, managed to detach that city from the revolution in November; Andalusia also remained generally loyal to the crown. The insurrection was now confined to the area of the Tajo and Duero river valleys.

On Dec. 5, taking advantage of the ineptitude of the Comunero military commander D. Pedro Girón, the Count of Haro (the Constable's son) captured Tordesillas. The Comunero government was shaken by the loss of this vital town (and by the loss of the aura of legitimacy conferred by their possession of the Queen), and quickly retired to Valladolid. January saw a number of inconclusive skirmishes, but on Feb 27 the new Comunero military commander, Juan de Padilla of Toledo, scored a significant victory by his capture of the castle of Torrelobatón. The week of March 3-10 saw a short truce between the opposing forces, as negotations— a constant feature of the Comunero revolution— were

attempted for the last time. Meanwhile, the Bishop of Zamora, D. Antonio de Acuña, concluded his raiding in northern Castille and moved south to take forcible possession of the vacant Archbishopric of Toledo. The social radicalism of the Comuneros steadily increased, culminating in the declaration of all-out war on the grandes on April 10. On the same day, royalist forces composed almost entirely of the greater aristocracy of the kingdom, advanced south from Medina el Ríoseco, and on April 23 completely routed the Comunero forces at the battle of Villalar. The following day, the principal Comunero leaders, Padilla of Toledo, Juan Bravo of Segovia, and Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca, were executed. By mid-May practically all of Castille was in royalist hands; Toledo resisted under the leadership of Padilla's widow María Pacheco until Oct. 25, 1521.

Harsh repression followed the Comunidades. María Pacheco fled to Portugal, but other prominent leaders, such as Acuña, Saravía, P. Maldonado, and others were executed. On July 16, 1522 Charles returned to Spain— accompanied by 4000 Landesknechte for protection. On Oct. 28 he proclaimed an amnesty, which nonetheless excluded nearly 300 Comunero leaders. Confiscations and lawsuits continued into the 1530's.

mob brutally murdered Rodrigo de Tordesillas, one of the *procuradores*, who had been ill-advised enough to return home secure in the belief that his conduct, in voting for the government in exchange for a number of profitable posts and contracts, was unknown to his fellow-citizens. So furious were the mob of wool-carders, who were foremost in the attack, that they beat him to



death and hanged him by the feet from a gallows without even allowing him to be shriven by a priest before his death. As at Toledo, the existing government of the city was extinguished and replaced by a commune.

Risings took place in Zamora, Salamanca, Toro, Madrid, Guadalajara, Alcalá, Soria, Ávila, Murcia and Cuença. Burgos also rose up (June 11th) and formed a commune. But jealousy of her ancient rival Toledo and the influence of the royalist Constable of Castille within her walls had an enfeebling effect upon her actions through the revolt. A few of the smaller towns such as Simancas and Logroño remained strongly royalist.

From R. Trevor-Davies, The Golden Century of Spain 1501-1621
Macmillan, London 1937

I. NEW CHRISTIANS AND THE COMUNEROS: CONVERSOS AND CROWN IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

I. FORMATION OF THE CONVERSO CLASS,

A. The Jews prior to 1391

It is impossible to date with any precision the first Jewish migrations to Spain, but it is likely that Jewish settlements were established in connection with Punic trading colonies in the South and East as early as the fifth century B.C.[2] Numerous legends refer to the emigration of Jews to Spain from the Holy Land in the wake of the Diaspora; what is certain is that by the end of the Roman hegemony in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Jews constituted an important sector of the Hispanic population, especially due to the nature and extent of their participation in the economic and social life of the peninsula.[3] The cultural and religious pluralism that had marked the early stages of Visigothic rule was soon superceded by a policy of rigid anti-Semitism following the conversion of King Recared to Trinitarian Catholicism in 587. Rising anti-Semitic sentiment as embodied in the acts of the various Councils of Toledo soon led to the first significant instance of "conversos" (literally, "converts") in Hispanic history. At the beginning of the seventh century, Heraclitus of Byzantium induced the Visigothic King Sisebutus to offer the Hispanic Jews the choice of conversion or expulsion. It is estimated that some 90,000 were baptized, and that several thousand chose to leave the kingdom.[4] Conflicts between the conversos, many of whom were suspected of crypto-Judaism, and the "Old Christians" were reflected in the canons of the seventh century Councils of Toledo, and in various late Visigothic law codes. Yet this ongoing attempt at a forcible assimilation of the Jewish population was cut short by the Islamic invasion of 711. The evidence of future strength and ability to resist conversion during centuries of Islamic rule leads us to conclude that the savage if brief Visigothic persecution had little permanent effect upon Hispanic

Judaism. Yet an ominous precedent had been established, and the concept of a unitary state based on one official religion would be preserved in Visigothic-Asturian law codes, such as the famous Fuero Juzgo.[5]

The tolerance and relative liberalism of the new Islamic state produced an environment conducive to the development of cultural and religious minorities such as the Jews.[1] Both the Mozarabic Christians and the Jews were considered to be "peoples of the Book" and thus entitled to the status of "dhimmis", or protected minorities. As such, they were allowed public practice of their religion and maintenance of their own local civil jurisdiction in return for the payment of a special tax. Hence it is not surprising that the years of the Caliphate (932-ca. 1032) and the Taifas ("Party Kingdoms", 1032-ca. 1100) comprised the political and cultural zenith of Spanish Judaism. Individuals Jews such as Hasdai ben-Shaprut and Shmuel ha-Nagid rose to positions of prominence in the Islamic kingdoms, serving as prime ministers, diplomats, and even military leaders. The foundations of Judeo-Spanish culture were laid in the tenth century, as the revival of Hebrew as a literary language prepared the way for the sudden resurgence of Hebraic poetry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The relative tolerance and economic rationalism of the Islamic south enabled Spanish Judaism to develop in a political as well as a cultural sense: it is even recorded that Yehoseph ha-Nagid considered founding a separate Jewish kingdom in Granada during the mid-eleventh century.[7]

The gradual reconquest of Islamic territory by the Christian kingdoms of the north at first worked little hardship on the Jewish population. Indeed, the fierce intolerance of the twelfth-century Almoravid and Almohad invaders forced many Jewish subjects of the Moslem states to emigrate north where they

were welcomed by the monarchy and ruling classes as useful citizens. The Jews assumed positions of economic and social importance in many ways reminiscent of the great influence they had enjoyed in the late Caliphate and Taifa years. For this reason, the thirteenth century has often been characterized by historians as the great period of Hispanic pluralism and interfaith tolerance;[8] Moslems and Jews alike enjoyed freedom of religion under such monarchs as Ferdinand III, known as the "King of Three Religions". These conditions of cultural and religious harmony persisted well into the fourteenth century.

Of special importance was the predominance exercised by these minorities in certain professions. For example, both Moslems and Jews were reknowned for their medical and pharmaceutical skills, a fact well-attested to by contemporary writers. The Jews in particular were associated with financial affairs, especially banking, usury, and tax-collecting. A famous medieval proverb notes that "judío para la mercadería, y fraile para la hipocresía",[9] (figuratively, a Jew is as practiced in commerce as a friar in hypocrisy). Certain other vocations were popularly identified with the Jews; the fifteenth-century chronicler Andrés Bernáldez stated that the Jews had been

> merchants, salesmen, tax-collectors, retailers, stewards of nobility, officials, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, weavers, grocers, peddlers, silk-merchants, smiths, jewellers, and other like trades; none broke the earth, or became a farmer, carpenter, or builder, but all sought after comfortable posts and ways of making profits without much labor.[10]

While Américo Castro's assertion that "Spanish history was constructed over a Jewish economic base"[11] is a bit too general, it is safe to say that the Jews made an extremely important contribution to the developing urban economy of Castille and the other Iberian dominions.

It is important to recognize that the history of the Jews in Spain diverges sharply from the experience of the Jews in other European countries.

The peculiar social conditions of the Castilian frontier society and the Aragonese merchant oligarchy enabled the Hispanic Jews to exercise a much greater degree of involvement and influence in national affairs. And while Jews were being expelled from England and France by royal edict, the Hispanic Jewish community was closely identified with monarchical interests.[12] More than one Castilian king supported the urban Jewish merchants and professionals as a counterweight to the powers and aspirations of an increasingly anarchic nobility. The military and clerical nature of the Reconquest had naturally served to augment the power of the upper estates, thus escalating the threat to monarchical authority. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in particular saw, through the alienation of reconquered territories to those feudal magnates instrumental in their recovery, the formation of a class of large latifundists later to be known as the "grandes". Such nobles, economically independent of the crown and of the nascent town bourgeoise, constituted a politically and socially conservative force within Castilian society. Not surprisingly, one of the principal tenets of their ideology was anti-Semitism, which given the close identification of the Jews with both the crown and the towns, could be utilized by the nobles to weaken both of these traditional enemies. For this reason, the triumph of the noble class over independent monarchical authority in the mid-fourteenth century was probably the most crucial event in the history of Hispanic Judaism.

It has long been recognized that the general European significance of the Black Death lay in the emergence of important new developments in the socio-economic realm. The resurgent aristocracy's policy of "bastard manorialism" created by the rise in wages and prices in the wake of the urban demographic disaster led to sharp confrontations between the hardpressed

nobility and the peasants on the one hand, and the nobility and the monarchical-municipal alliance on the other. Faction and class strife became endemic features of late medieval life. Yet attempts to equate the increasing anti-Semitism of fourteenth-century Spain with similar developments throughout the rest of Europe in the aftermath of the plague often ignore the peculiar social and political realities of the Iberian peninsula. Spain differed from the European model in one important respect: whereas in the rest of Europe the monarchy would ally with the towns in an effort to counterbalance aristocratic power, in Castille the monarchy would enter into an alliance forceé with the nobles and peasantry to the detriment of the urban bourgeoise. While this is more properly characteristic of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (as exemplified, as we shall see, in the Comunero revolution), it was in the mid-fourteenth century that this understanding between the monarchy and nobility was forged.

1391 is a crucial date in the history of Hispanic Judaism. During that year and the next Spain was shaken by a violent series of pogroms, leading to the destruction of the economic power of the Jews and the forced conversion of thousands, forming of the first time since Visigothic days a converso class of significant dimensions. Yet I would maintain that the year 1369 saw an even more ominous event, the defeat of Peter I at Montiel by the alliance of his half-brother Henry of Trastámara (later Henry II) and the greater nobility of Castille. Peter's attempt to create an alliance between the towns (and conspicuously the Jews) and the monarchy succumbed to the ideals of unitary Catholicism and anti-Semitism represented by Henry and the magnates. In a sense, the rest was epilogue.[13]

B. The Conversos 1391-1478

The second half of the fourteenth century witnessed frequent manifestations of anti-Semitism in Castille and the other Iberian kingdoms. The general European trend towards increased anti-Jewish legislation, as reflected in the various expulsions and the canons of the Fourth Lateran and Arles Councils, found its first expression in Castille through the adoption of discriminatory racial laws at the Cortes (Parliament) of Toledo in 1371. Powerful Jewish pressure handicapped the enforcement of these laws, which led to a repetition of their enactment at the Cortes of Madrid in 1405.[14] More important than legal restraints, however, were the various acts of popular discontent, fanned by the political factions and economic dislocations associated with the later Middle Ages. The agitation of mendicant preachers provided the initial spark for the celebrated massacres of 1391, which erupted in June of that year in the small southern town of Écija and soon spread throughout the rest of the peninsula. Over two thousand Jews were killed in Seville alone, and many cities saw the complete destruction of their "aljamas", or ghettoes.[15]

Without doubt the killings of 1391-92 were the most serious pogroms in Spanish history, not only in terms of destruction of life and property, but also by virtue of the fact that the majority of Jews who survived the persecutions were forcibly converted to Christianity. While there had existed certain recent precedents for this situation,[16] baptism by coercion on such a massive scale was a completely new phenomenon. Thus overnight Castilian society was plagued not only by a "Jewish problem", but also by a "converso problem", both of Christian making. As Henry Kamen remarks,

> Christian society was all too conscious that converted Jews had in reality been forced unwillingly into their new faith: the converso was from the first, therefore, regarded with suspicion as a false Christian and a secret judaizer or practicer of Jewish

> rites. The conversos or New Christians soon came to be distrusted even more than the Jews, for they were considered to be a fifth column within the body of the Church. New words were coined to describe them, the most common being marranos, a word which probably derived either from the Hebrew 'maranatha' (the Lord comes) or from a description of the Jews as those who 'marran', or mar, the true faith. The conversos were thus resented by the body of Old Christians, who distrusted the sincerity of their faith and objected to the prominent part they played in Christian society. Although no longer Jews in religion, they now began to be subjected to all the rigours of anti-Semitism.[17]

Old Christian hostility to the conversos was exacerbated by the fact that as a result of their baptism they were now eligible for various offices and professions which had been formerly denied to them as Jews. The fifteenth century saw a gradual but steady penetration of municipal and judicial offices by the conversos in both the Castilian cities and in the royal court.[18] The conversos' peculiar talents in finance and organization led to their recruitment as mayordomos and administrators not only in the court and the municipalities but also upon the estates of the great magnates as well. Many converso families managed to marry into the greater Castilian aristocracy: "grande" families such as the Mendoza, Pimentel, Enríquez, Girón, and others were all "tainted" by these intermarriages. Above all, the New Christians quickly attained positions of high authority in the Church and the various religious orders. Some of the most famous prelates of the fifteenth century— Pablo de Santa María, Alonso de Cartagena, Lope Barrientos, Hernando de Talavera, Juan de Torquemada, Diego Deza— were of converso lineage. Many of these New Christians found that monastic life offered a refuge from public scrutiny and an opportunity to practice their ancestral religion in relative security; the Jeronymite Order in particular, with its unique mixture of intellectual preeminence and practical economic achievement, proved especially congenial to the conversos.[19]

There is still a great deal of scholarly controversy concerning the relation of the New Christians to their Judaic heritage.[20] As we shall see in dealing with converso involvement in the Comunidades, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to formulate any firm judgments regarding the converso class as a whole. Certainly some, if not most, of the converted Jews and their descendents wholeheartedly embraced their new faith and became sincere Christians— the history of the Spanish mysticism throughout the sixteenth century gives countless examples of the deeply Christian spirit of the conversos. It is also certain that some New Christians continued to practice their ancestral faith, often in a blatant and deliberately provocative manner. And recent studies have begun to reveal a third ideological current among the conversos: a cultured skepticism and mild Sadducceanism that had already existed in Spanish Judaic circles prior to 1391.[21]

The attitude of the New Christians to their surviving Jewish brethren was similarly varied and equivocal. Some sought to improve their own standing with the Old Christians by adopting a virulent anti-Semitism— it has often been noted that some of the more notorious officials of the Inquisition (such as Torquemada, Deza, and Lucero) were of converso descendency. Others maintained close contact with the Jewish communities; many did not even bother to move out of the ghettoes following their baptism. Yet whatever the relation of the conversos to the Jews, in the popular imagination of Old Christian Castille the two groups were irrevocably identified with each other. The failure of the Old Christian society to absorb and integrate the converso class that it had created led to a series of tragic incidents culminating in the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478, and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

Religious and racial anti-Semitism, economic jealousies, fears of competition and of Jewish influence in the Church, and the vagaries of political faction combined to produce social polarization between the nobility[22] and the Old Christian urban proletariat on the one hand, and the New Christian bourgeoise and heterodox intellectuals on the other. Several recent Spanish historians have seen the clash of the Old and New Christians in terms of the traditional opposition between the "campo" (countryside) and the "ciudad" (the city)[23]— that is, between the feudal organization of society as exemplified by the landed aristocracy and the decaying guild system, and the modern "precapitalist" mode of production represented by the converso urban bourgeoise. This assessment is, in my estimation, largely correct.[24] The political events of the second half of the fifteenth century gives numerous concrete examples of aristocratic agitation of the Old Christian masses against the converso middle class.[25] It is clear that the upper classes were willing to utilize the services of the conversos whenever the latter proved properly subservient— thus, for example, the close working relationship between the Mesta sheepowners and the converso export merchants of Burgos. The employment of conversos on the grandes' estates, or the protection of the New Christian class in the southern cities by the latifundist nobility has in itself little ideological significance. The conversos relying upon noble patronage and protection constituted no active threat to aristocratic interests; indeed, the same could be said of the nobles protecting the Moriscos during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The support accorded to these religious minorities was economic and not ideological in motivation, and should not necessarily be construed as representing heterodox attitudes.

It is also necessary to recognize the importance of the internal divisions within the cities and the bourgeoise itself for the introduction of

instruments of discrimination such as the Inquisition and the statutes of "limpieza de sangre" (blood purity). Riots and the adoption of anti-Semitic legislation in Toledo (1449 and 1467), Valladolid (1470), Cordoba (1473), and other cities were ominous indications of the growing divisions within Castillian society. Prior to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, the Castilian monarchs and their advisors had attempted to maintain a precarious balance between the two unequal factions. The overriding achievement of the "Catholic Kings" was to tip the balance in favor of the Old Christian feudal economic organization. This unhappy policy was achieved through the introduction of the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, and the emasculation of municipal independence represented by the Cortes. The continuation of this program found its final ratification in the defeat of the Comuneros in 1521.

C. The Inquisition

The early years of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel witnessed an increasingly bitter dispute concerning the nature of the converso problem in Castille. Two major factions vied for royal implementation of their solutions. One group favored the introduction of a national Inquisition (a policy that had almost succeeded under Henry IV) to carry out swift and harsh measures for the immediate extirpation of "heresy". The proponents of this drastic step included prominent clerics such as Tomás de Torquemada, Alonso de ~~Hodeja~~ Hojeda, and other members of the mendicant orders. Significantly, advocates of this solution tended towards a unitary conception of society, as evidenced by their fanatic religious (though not necessarily racial) anti-Semitism. Their opponents proposed a policy of moderation and tolerance, choosing to rely upon the efficacy of preaching and other non-coercive methods of conversion. Representative of

this approach were the famed Fr. Hernando de Talavera, confessor to the Queen;[26] Fr. Alonso de Oropesa, General of the Jeronymite Order; and the Old Christian Cardinal Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo. Throughout the crucial decade of the 1470's, the monarchs wavered between these two extremes. Finally, in 1478, Isabel petitioned the Pope for a bull to establish a national Inquisition free of episcopal control; but the strenuous efforts of Fr. Hernando and other conversos close to the court prevented its being enacted until 1480. In 1481 the first "auto-da-fe" was held in Seville— this date marks the definitive inauguration of the Spanish Inquisition, and the victory of the partisans of repression over the representatives of moderation.

What were the motives that induced the Catholic Kings to take this drastic and seemingly irrevocable action? Ferdinand and Isabel appear to have had no personal or racial animus against the conversos per se. It is a well-known fact that both monarchs— Ferdinand in particular— utilized conversos extensively in the royal administrations. Both kingdoms relied heavily upon Jews and conversos for their financing; indeed, the Granada war was largely paid for by two prominent Jewish advisors, Abraham Seneor and Isaac Abravanel. Virtually the entire administration of the crown of Aragon was in the hands of New Christians such as Luis de Santangel, Gabriel Sánchez, and Alfonso de la Caballería.[27] Isabel's closest personal friend was married to the leader of the converso community of Segovia, and her confessor was the New Christian Fr. Hernando. And both monarchs consistently opposed the introduction of blood purity statutes in the Jeronymite Order. Evidence for the close ties between the conversos and the royal administration is overwhelming. Why then did the Catholic Kings favor the introduction of the Inquisition, and support it during their entire reign?

It would be a mistake to underestimate the role that genuine religious conviction played in the establishment of the Inquisition. Isabel's personal repugnance to the Moslem and Jewish faiths is well-known to all students of the epoch, whereas the Machiavellian view of Ferdinand has tended to obscure the fact that he was an avid devotee of the cult of the Virgin. Furthermore, it is certain that the preaching of Fr. Alonso de ~~Hodeja~~ Hojeda, who drew attention to the overt Judaic practices of the converso population of Seville during their tour of the south in the crucial year 1478, produced a strong reaction in the deeply-religious sovereigns. The royal chronicler Hernando de Pulgar, an influential converso who favored the alternative of non-coercion advocated by Fr. Hernando, cited the behavior of the Sevillan conversos in very bitter terms, blaming them for provoking Inquisitorial repression.

A second clue to the reasons for the preference of the monarchs for repression rather than peaceful persuasion can be deduced from the peculiar fiscal structure of the institution. Although the Inquisition was a national organization controlled by the crown, its officials were not paid any fixed salaries. Rather, the money required for its maintenance came from the confiscation of the property of the accused suspects. The remainder of the funds was directed to the royal treasury. Although the Inquisition later proved to be a tax upon the royal exchequer, there is little doubt that in the years of its inception the crown benefitted substantially from the confiscations.[28] Of course the kings were conscious that this policy was economically damaging in the long run, but the towns protested to no avail. Ferdinand and Isabel always preferred the expedient resolution of difficult problems; as in the dispute between the Mesta and the agriculturalists they opted for the solution that would prove of greater immediate benefit to the royal treasury.

Thus Isabel's sanctimonious claim to the Pope that the incoming gains from Inquisitorial confiscations were being utilized to provide dowries for the orphans of punished heretics (!) should be regarded with more than a little suspicion.

Yet to claim, as some modern historians of the Inquisition have done, that the sole motivations for the persecution were religious and financial in nature would be to ignore the underlying historical importance of this institution and the role that it played in the development of royal absolutism in Spain. Of particular importance is the relation of overall crown objectives to the instrument that was so successful in carrying them out.

The ultimate aim of the Castilian policy of the Catholic Kings was the establishment of a royal absolutism based upon an essentially feudal mode of economic and social organization. Sporadic attempts to protect native industry from foreign competition should not obscure the fundamental economic policy of the Catholic Kings: the favoring of wool and its export over both agricultural and domestic industrial production. This policy, definitively established by the Law of Land Rent (Ley del Arriendo del Suelo) of 1501, served as the basis for royal absolutism by favoring aristocratic interests and those sections of the urban bourgeoise not connected with the domestic production of cloth. The absolutist measures of the crown were directed against the nobility only in the political sphere, and even then in a highly inconsistent manner. The destruction of the castles, the replacements of the nobles by middle class "letrados" in royal administration, the sponsorship of the Hermandad and other measures have tended to blind some historians to the underlying social realities of fiteenth-century Castille. The famed land redistribution of the Cortes of Toledo in 1480 did not, as is commonly supposed, deprive the upper nobility of substantial portions of land. On the

contrary, all land grants to the aristocracy by the crown prior to the reign of Henry IV were explicitly confirmed; the lands that reverted to the crown were in large measure sinecures awarded to the bourgeoise and letrados during the reign of the Catholic Kings themselves. Thus both the "Declaratorias" of 1480 and the subsequent Mesta legislation tended to confirm the great magnates in positions of overwhelming economic and social power. The crown also extended rights of entail and mortmain, and allowed the nobles to expand their local seigneurial jurisdictions. And, contrary to the myth, the aristocracy was not excluded from active participation in the political process: nobles still served as military commanders, captains-general of reconquered territories (such as the great Mendoza family in Granada), ambassadors, viceroys, etc. In sum, it would not be too venturesome to conclude that the organization of Castilian society envisioned and achieved by the Catholic Kings was based upon hierarchical principles not uncongenial to the aristocracy. While the nobles were excluded from their former roles in the actual determination of national policy, they were confirmed in their social status and control of the nation's economy.[29]

The unitary society of Ferdinand and Isabel could only be achieved by the ruthless elimination of heterodoxy (the Jews, Moslems, and "heretics") and the reduction of the one bastion of political independence, the Cortes. Keeping these ultimate aims in mind, the connection between seemingly disparate policies becomes more apparent, and the overall political conceptions of the Catholic Kings begin to assume a greater cohesion. The destruction of the pluralism and the "liberal" frame of reference characteristic of representative government could only redound to the benefit of the orthodox Old Christian conception of society. We come then to a conclusion of fundamental importance:

that the basic political goal of the Catholic Kings, an alliance not of the towns and the crown against the nobility but rather of the nobility and the crown against municipal liberty and the urban middle class as represented by the Cortes, led to those measures that would fatally weaken the independence of the bourgeoise.[30] These measures were the introduction of the Inquisition, the appointment of "corregidores" (crown governors) to each municipality, and the expulsion of the Jews. The notorious "Habsburg absolutism" of the succeeding epoch was hardly sui generis; rather, the death of municipal liberty at Villalar had its origins in the brilliantly successful policies of the Catholic Kings.[31]

D. The Conversos and the Inquisition 1478-1520

The inability of the converso class to oppose a united front to the introduction of the Inquisition fatally weakened attempts to limit its jurisdiction and thus mitigate the appalling severity that characterized the early years of persecution. Individual conspiracies (such as those of Seville in 1480 and Zaragoza in 1485)[32] served only to buttress the power of the Holy Office in the long run. The tremendous success of the tribunal in the overall pacification policies of the Catholic Kings gave it a position of great influence in state affairs. Its immunity from criticism (ensured not only by the total support accorded it by the monarchy but by its own secret procedure as well) enabled it to play a decisive role in the formation of state policy, as evidenced by its staging of the show trial of La Guardia in 1490.[33] In short, throughout the Isabelline period the Inquisition occupied an invulnerable and influential position in the affairs of state.

Resistance to the introduction of the Holy Office was admittedly stronger in Aragón than in Castille, due to the peculiar constitutional nature of government in the eastern kingdoms. Given the strong royal support for the tribunal, the opposition in both kingdoms was forced to appeal (with payment as well as prayers) to the Holy See for intervention. On April 18, 1482, Sixtus IV, responding to converso blandishments, issued a remarkable bull stating that

> in Aragón, Valencia, Mallorca and Catalonia the Inquisition has for some time been moved not by zeal for the faith and the salvation of souls, but by lust for wealth, and that many true and faithful Christians, on the testimony of enemies, rivals, slaves, and other lower and even less proper persons, have without any legitimate proof been thrust into secular prisons, tortured and condemned as relapsed heretics, deprived of their goods and property and handed over to the secular arm to be executed, to the peril of souls, setting a pernicious example, and causing disgust to many.[34]

Outraged reaction from the monarchs led Sixtus to withdraw the bull in October of the same year. Though future attempts would be made to secure papal intervention, none would achieve any lasting success.

The death of Isabel in 1504 and the consequent retirement of Ferdinand to Aragón led many Castilians to place their hopes for Inquisitional reform in the new monarchs Philip and Juana. Opposition to recent Inquisitorial activity emanated from substantial sections of the populace, both New and Old Christian alike. Particularly grievous were the persecutions directed by the infamous Rodrigo Lucero in Cordoba. Lucero's career is described by Kamen as follows:

> Diego Rodríguez Lucero became Inquisitor of Cordoba on 7 September 1499. As early as 1501 he came into conflict with the municipal authorities, when one of the latter's principal officials was dismissed from office and exiled by the Inquisition for an indiscreet quarrel with employees of the tribunal. This success emboldened Lucero to go even further. From now on his career consisted in attempts to arrest leading citizens on trifling and often non-existent pretexts, in order to seize their property which would come to the tribunal

> government exposure by the complicity of a secretary of the king, Juan Ruiz de Calcena, who was responsible for conducting royal correspondence in Inquisitorial affairs. Prominent members of leading Old Christian families in Cordoba soon came into Lucero's net, and the fear among all classes in the city grew so great that an atmosphere of terror very quickly engulfed the community. Not content with this, Lucero invented stories of a vast conspiracy covering Spain in the interests of subverting Christianity, and used this myth as justification for his extreme measures... A horrific story recounted by Lea tells how a judaizer who had been preaching his heresy was arrested by Lucero. Witnesses were made to denounce those who had attended his sermons, and these, to the number of 107, were burnt alive together in a single auto-da-fe... [35]

Finally, his attack upon the eminent prelate Talavera led to a popular riot and his eventual dismissal. It had seemed likely that Philip would achieve a substantial reform of the tribunal, but his premature death in 1506 dashed all hopes of a more lenient policy. The new regency of Cisneros and Ferdinand, while eradicating many of the more blatant abuses of the Inquisitional officials, saw no significant reform of the Holy Office.

The death of Ferdinand in 1516 led to renewed agitation on the part of the opposition; the conversos looked to Charles I much in the way they had placed their hopes for reform in his father Philip. Certainly many conversos managed to attach themselves to Charles' court in the Netherlands, and it is reported that Cisneros was greatly disturbed by the rumor that Charles was planning to allow the publication of the names of witnesses in Inquisitorial cases. [36] Apparently the conversos were bargaining for the elimination of the more noxious secret procedures of the Inquisition, rather than the somewhat unrealistic goal of its total abolition. In any event, the death of Cisneros in 1516 seemed to many to signify the removal of the last obstacle to reform of the Holy Office. Charles was approached through his venal Flemish advisors, who reportedly accepted huge bribes in order to secure their influence in favor of the proposed reforms. An outline of instructions for comprehensive changes

in Inquisitorial procedure was drawn up by Charles' Walloon advisor Jean de Sauvage; however, his death in 1518 put an end to this approach to reform. As Kamen notes,

> Had these instructions ever been approved, a totally different tribunal would have come into existence. The burden of secrecy would have been completely lifted, and opportunities for abuses would have correspondingly diminished. Happily for those who supported the Inquisition, the new Inquisitor-General appointed by Charles on the death of Ximénez, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, bishop of Tortosa, firmly opposed any innovation. Shortly after this, early in July 1518, Sauvage died. With him collapsed any hope of fundamental alterations in the structure of the Inquisition...[37]

Once again, resort was made to the Papacy. In July 1519 Leo X issued three briefs severely restricting the authority of the tribunal, although a quick protest by Charles led him to suspend the briefs shortly thereafter.[38] Prominently involved in the negotiations with the Papacy were the conversos Diego de las Casas, Francisco del Alcázar, and the royal treasurer Alonso Gutiérrez de Madrid. We shall encounter this same group promoting Inquisitional reform among the Comuneros.[39]

Official protests against the abuses committed by the Holy Office were presented at the Cortes of Valladolid (February 1518), Zaragoza (May 1518), and Santiago-La Coruña (April-May 1520). The king responded with evasive replies,[40] and left for Germany in May 1520 without firmly committing himself one way or the other on the question of the reform of the tribunal. It is therefore hardly surprising that the frustrated conversos would turn to the Comuneros for the implementation of these reforms.

II. CONVERSO PARTICIPATION IN THE COMUNIDADES

Numerous historians of the period have signalled the instrumental role played by the conversos in the Comunero uprising.[41] In the course of this essay we shall attempt to document this New Christian participation in the Comunidades, and then devote our attention in the final essay to a consideration of the deeper significance of this movement in relation to the converso problem of the early sixteenth century.

The correspondence of some of the principal partisans of the royalist cause contains several important references to converso involvement in the Comunero revolution. A short catalogue of the principle testimonies would include the following:

1). A set of stipulations for the pacification of Toledo drawn up by the Admiral and Pero Lasso de la Vega on Jan. 7, 1521 notes that "the truth is that all the evil has come from the converted Jews".[42]

2). A letter from Juan Rodríguez Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, to Charles dated Feb. 25, 1521 states that

> All the townships— I am referring to the part of the officers and Old Christians and peasants— now know the fraud and evil in which they have been placed; that the converted Jews, an incorrigible "caste", are still as stubborn as on the first day they dared to revolt, and the most dedicated (Comuneros) in each place are the converted Jews.[43]

3). A letter from the Admiral to Charles (n.d., spring 1521) contains the following reference: "the Bishop of Zamora (the radical Comunero Acuña) took possession of the archbishopric (of Toledo) by authority of the Jews and rascals of Zocodover".[44]

4). A letter from Iñigo López Mendoza, Marqués de Mondejar, to Charles (n.d., spring 1521) affirms that the principal instigators of the revolution were

the conversos and others threatened by the Holy Office.[45]

5). A letter from the officers of the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Seville to Charles, dated April 21, 1521, notes that

> we ourselves are convinced that the recent troubles that the Holy Office has encountered are related to those in your kingdom, because according to the opinion of some people with good judgment and devoted to the cause of Your Majesty, they believe that they were caused by persons suspected by the Holy Office.[46]

6). A similar letter from Iñigo de Velasco, the Constable, to the Emperor dated May 24, 1521, stating that "the rebellion in this kingdom was caused by the converted Jews".[47]

7). Finally, an anonymous letter by a royalist to King Manuel of Portugal (n.d. 1521) insists that

> Your Royal Highness should know that this (the rebellion) has been and is a very deep evil forged and ordained by some who are still unknown, and by others so naturally passionate that passion has blinded them from knowing themselves: that they are sons or descendents or relatives of those who did not loyally serve the Catholic Kings; and others are persons who are enemies of the faith which is the greatest (faith) of all and they are involved with or suspected by the Holy Inquisition, and could not by offering great sums of money gain from ~~your~~ his Caesarean Majesty dishonorable things in favor of their heretical depravity in order to have more comfort and security and less fear of committing their crimes in observance of the (law) of Moses and this they do not call a crime by being against God whom they have forgotten and do not think of in their attacks against the Inquisition of this realm.[48]

There also exist numerous references to converso Comuneros in the chronicles and other contemporary accounts of the revolution. The Crónicas of the court jester Francesillo de Zúñiga, one of the great monuments of sixteenth century satire, notes that when the royalist commander the Prior of San Juan entered Toledo, many of the dead Comuneros were found to be circum-

cized. Other contemporaries recorded stories and sayings about the New Christian Comuneros.[49] One concerns the shoemaker Blas, about whom one Juan de Santillana testified:

> One day, two months or so ago, the said Blas came from the outskirts of the village... following him were the said Francisco Zamorano (and others), who called to Blas— "Cursed be this Jewish son of a whore who agitates the village and deserves to be killed!" And the said Blas went to a house near the bridge where this witness (Santillana) collects the sales-tax, and without telling anyone there, Zamorano came and he stabbed him...[50]

Another popular story has Gutierre de Padilla, brother of the Comunero captain and a partisan of the royalist cause, so infuriated by the Comunero cry "Padilla!" that he responded by yelling

> Body of God! Don't say anymore of this, only long live the King and the Inquisition![51]

Sandoval, who considered the revolution to have been caused by "friars and Jews",[52] recounts several anecdotes concerning the converso lineage of the Comuneros. In one instance he notes that the royalists of Simancas insulted the Valladolid Comuneros by referring to them as "infidel dogs, converts to Christianity".[53] In another example he cites a hidalgo of Madrid who taunted the Comuneros by yelling

> O traitorous scoundrels, Jews of Madrid! What have you done? What accord do you wish to make so injurious to the King and to your village? All that you do is cowardly![54]

Finally, one often-cited quote comes from Archbishop Siliceo of Toledo, who in order to establish statutes of blood purity in the cathedral chapter there argued that "it is well known in Spain that the Comunidades and unrest

of past years were caused by descendents of Jews".[55]

The value of these statements as documentary evidence for strong converso participation in the Comunidades is somewhat questionable. The authors were all proclaimed adversaries of the Comuneros, and many were directly involved in the suppression of the uprising. Thus it would not be surprising to find that they would attempt to impugn their opponents by attributing Jewish lineage to them with or without justification. In the case of Siliceo we can detect a distinct polemical note, as Sicroff informs us that he was arguing before the Emperor when he made this statement. Given Charles' lifelong antipathy to the Comuneros, it would not be too venturesome to interpret this accusation as a shrewd political ploy to gain crown favor of the adoption of the racialist statutes. Perhaps it is also significant that the only contemporary testimony given by a converso— that of Zúñiga— is phrased in the form of a satirical joke.

Yet Pérez' round statement that "What do these affirmations prove? In themselves, nothing" is much too general. Through these contemporary references we receive the impression that the confrontation between the Old and New Christians was an integral part of the general social disturbances associated with the Comunidades. Also clear is the identification of the Comuneros with the conversos and other heterodox elements within Castilian society. While these accusations are in themselves of little documentary value, when considered in conjunction with the composition and general goals of the revolution they constitute a valuable indication of the basic social divisions of sixteenth-century Castille.

More important from a documentary point of view is the identification and consideration of individual conversos who took part in the Comunero movement. While in-depth studies on the social composition of the Comunidades are for the most part lacking, it is possible to indicate the Jewish descent of a great many participants in the uprising.[56] In Toledo, the Rojas, Gaitán, and Álvarez y Zapata families of conversos, among others, were deeply involved in the movement.[57] And although Juan de Padilla, the leader of the Toledo Comunidad, was an Old Christian, he was tied to converso interests through his brother-in-law Pedro de Acuña, who in turn was related to the radical Comunero Alonso de Dueñas, also a converso.[58]

In Valladolid it seems certain that the most radical Comuneros were New Christians. Alonso de Saravía, the leader of the extremist faction, was the son of the Jew Dr. Franco, a noted physician during the reign of the Catholic Kings.[59] Pedro de Tovar, Captain-General of the city during the insurrection, is mentioned in the Coplas del Provincial as a converso;[60] his brother Bernardino would later become the object of Inquisitorial persecution during the Erasmist trials of the early 1530's.[61] And the famed "Bachiller de Alcalá" has been identified by Sánchez Cantón[62] as none other than Diego de las Casas, one of the principal converso negotiators with the Pope in the years immediately preceding the insurrection.

Luis Peñalosa's important study of the Segovian uprising[63] has revealed the extremely close ties between the converso population of that city and the Comunidad. Juan Bravo, the leader of the movement and an Old Christian, was married to the granddaughter of Abraham Seneor, the famed Jewish financier and intimate advisor of the Catholic Kings.[64] Bravo maintained close contact with the converso community of Segovia, even to the extent of living in the "barrio nuevo", or

ghetto.[65] It is therefore not surprising to find that the New Christians would be among the most zealous supporters of the revolution. It is reported that the powerful Coronel family (the Seneor converts) lent its entire resources to the insurrection, and that numerous conversos enlisted in the military forces of the Comunidad. A partial list would include the Peralta, de la Hoz, Pérez, Cuellar, and Avendaño families, as well as prominent individual conversos such as Alonso del Río, Diego de Cáceres, Juan de Solier, Juan de Avía, and the Bachiller de Guadalajara.[66] And a letter from the Regent Adrian to Charles dated Jan. 30, 1521 denounced the three Coronel brothers as spies for the Comuneros.[67]

The Madrid Comunidad likewise embraced a high proportion of converso participants. As Gutiérrez Nieto states,

> Among those who signed the surrender accord we find many that bear the last name "Madrid" and whose occupations have a converso flavor (cloth merchants, money-changers, merchants, apothecaries, wax-chandlers) or with last names as suspicious as those of Lobato, Franco, Negrete, de la Torre, and others. As many of these were parish deputies... the Comunero movement in Madrid had a markedly converso flavor. Also, popular opinion attributed Hebrew blood to some of the rebel nobles, like the Zapata and Luján families...[68]

It should also be noted that the leader of the Madrid Comunidad, Juan Zapata de Madrid, hailed from a very prominent converso family.[69]

Several important incidents in Burgos would seem to confirm the participation of the conversos in the Comunidad of that city. The French merchant Jofre de Cotannes threatened a terrible vengeance upon the "marranos" of Burgos who sacked his house during the summer disturbances of 1520.[70] Important converso families such as the Cartagena, Maluenda, and the Valdivieso were also implicated in the short-lived uprising.[71]

Individual conversos can be identified in other Castilian cities as well. One of the principal leaders of the Medina del Campo Comunidad was the Jewish Dr. Antonio de Nájera, who fled to Portugal following the defeat of the revolution.[71] The personal secretary of Bishop Acuña, Florián de Ocampo, was a prominent converso intellectual of the early sixteenth century.[73] It is quite possible that Juan Maldonado, leader of the Salamanca Comunidad, was of New Christian descent on both sides (his father being a member of the Talavera family of converso physicians, and his mother a daughter of the converso Fernán Álvarez de la Reina).[74] Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, brother of the noted converso secretary of the Catholic Kings, was one of some three hundred Comuneros excepted from the Imperial pardon of 1522; his relative Garcí was a close friend of Juan de Padilla, and was deeply involved in Comunero projects for Inquisitional reform.[75] Pedro Cazalla (whose inspiring quote serves as a dedicatoria for this essay) was a converso Comunero destined to be involved in the Erasmist trials.[76] And of probable converso descendency was Pedro de Carasa, mayordomo to the Padilla family, as was Pedro de Alcocer, the servant and chronicler of the Padillas.[77]

Evidence of a more circumstantial nature also points to significant converso participation in the Comunidades. A brief glance at the list of the approximately three hundred Comuneros excepted from the 1522 pardon would indicate a high proportion of converso names and "typical" converso occupations (town councillors, intellectuals, artisans, merchants, professionals, etc.).[78] Similarly important is the involvement of Erasmist intellectuals such as Hernán Nuñez (the famed "Greek Commander"), Pedro de Lerma, Juan de la Fuente, Prejano, Ciruelo, Carrasco, and other theologians and philosophers (both New

and Old Christians) closely tied to the heterodox religious center of Alcalá.[79]

The geographical location and organization of the movement also tend to suggest a New Christian influence. The fact that the Comuneros enjoyed their greatest successes in the traditional centers of Spanish Jewry— Toledo, Segovia, Madrid, Valladolid, Salamanca— is itself an indication of the involvement of the crucially important New Christian sector of the population of urban Castille. Another important clue is suggested by the internal organization of the Comunidades among neighborhood lines; for example, representation to the Comunidad of Madrid was on the basis of parishes, which denotes a familiar method of caste division.[80] Also, when confiscations and other punitive assessments were levied by the crown against the various parishes of Segovia following the failure of the uprising there, the "converso parishes", especially San Miguel, were forced to pay the greatest indemnities.[81]

One incident in particular serves to highlight the close relations between the Comunidades and prominent conversos seeking reform of the Inquisition. In 1531 the tribunal of the Holy Office in Toledo initiated a detailed investigation into the background and activities of the royal treasurer Alfonso Gutiérrez de Madrid. As noted above, Gutiérrez was the leader of a group of influential conversos who lobbied Leo X for Papal reform of the Inquisition. This and other activities brought him to the attention of the Holy Office, who investigated him and subsequently tried him for judaizing. A series of depositions taken from friends of Gutiérrez from Nov. 8 to Dec. 16 1531 revealed a series of rather unorthodox transactions between Gutiérrez, ostensibly a royalist, and Juan de Padilla.[82] All of the witnesses testified that Gutiérrez advanced large sums of money to the Comunero leader for the purpose of influencing the revolutionaries in favor of projects for Inquisitional reform. Padilla's response was noncommital,

and it it extremely difficult to assess his feelings one way or the other on the converso question. What is certain, however, is that Inquisitional reform represented a major goal for a sizeable portion of the Comunero leadership. Even before the revolution began, the Cathedral chapter and Divinity-Professor of Toledo publicly supported substantial changes in Inquisitonal procedure.[83] Various "Capitulaciones", or instructions issued by the Comuneros in September and October 1521 included projects for Inquisitonal reform, notably the abolition of the automatic confiscation of property.[84] It is reported that political discussions amongst the Comunero leadership often concerned Inquisitional matters.[85] And the Compromise of Sisla (the pact for the pacification of Toledo) contained a clause specifying that the salaries of Inquisitional officials and familiars would not be paid out of confiscations.[86] Thus it is not surprising that Gutiérrez Nieto concludes his study of the conversos in the Comunidades by stating that while Inquisitional reform was not the only factor influencing the conversos to participate in the movement,

> there was a powerful motivation on the part of the conversos to take advantage of the least opportunity— in this case, the Comunidades— that could debilitate royal power, which had given so many proofs of obstinate intransigency regarding projected reforms and which in their eyes incarnated the reasons for the Inquisition...[87]

III. THE CONVERSOS AND MIDDLE CLASS REVOLUTION

Any comprehensive explication of the extensive role played by the conversos in the Comunero revolution of 1520-21 must ultimately contend with the subtle and complex questions of goals and motivations. This search for the ideological underpinnings of the movement depends in turn upon one's analysis of the nature of the middle class of Castille, as defined in economic, political, and religious terms. Consideration of the character of this converso bourgeoise and its position within Castilian society is an essential prerequisite to any valid interpretation of the Comunidades.

A. The Nature of the Converso Class in Castille

The characterization of the New Christians as an important if not predominant sector of the Castilian urban bourgeoise of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has long been accepted as axiomatic by historians of the epoch. To my knowledge there is not one Spanish historian who seriously disputes the inclusion of the New Christians as an integral part of the urban "middle class", such as it existed at the time. Given this caution, we should not be surprised to find that one's views on the extent of development achieved by these bourgeoise elements can profoundly affect the evaluation of the role played by the conversos in the general historical evolution of Castille. It is also reasonable to expect that the divisions and tensions between the middle class and the other estates and even within the middle class itself would be reflected in the converso community as well. As exemplified in the Comunero revolution, the ideological dispositions of individual conversos would be in a large measure determined by their respective positions

within the overall structure of Castilian society— not only in terms of municipal and regional economic organization, but also in the measure of relative proximity to the court and royal interests.

It is possible to distinguish three major "vertical" sectors within the Castilian economy of the early sixteenth century. The first and most important sector was composed of those elements of society whose interests were identified with the wool export trade. These would include: the northern shipping ports (e.g. Bilbao and the "Merindades"); the merchants of the northern trade center of Burgos, where a Consulate for the wool trade was established by the Catholic Kings in 1494; the Mesta, or sheepherder's guild, dominated by the grandes; and the crown, beneficiary not only of the customs and transport dues,[89] but also of sizeable direct subsidies from the estates of the crown-controlled military orders.[90] The second major sector of the Castilian economy was the small group of cloth manufacturers of the central meseta, especially the pre-industrial centers of Toledo, Segovia, Cuenca, and to a lesser extent, Cordoba. Finally, the third important sector was the aristocratic latifundia of the south, where the nobility enjoyed near-complete social and economic power in the towns as well as within the immediate range of their respective seigneurial domains.

As can be expected, the New Christians functioned as active participants in each of these segments of the urban bourgeoise. In the northern economic sphere with its geographic base at Burgos and the trade center of Medina del Campo, converso merchants acted as middlemen for the purchase and shipping of unprocessed wool for export to the Low Countries. New Christians served as factors and administrative agents within the Mesta, and occupied important posts in crown financing and tax administration as well. In the central meseta,

the conversos were conspicuously involved in the industrial processing of wool products, not only in their capacities as urban artisans but also as putting-out capitalists ("hacedores de panos"). And in the south the New Christian bourgeoise occupied positions of importance in municipal government and in the administration of the vast estates of the grandes.

Admittedly this is a simplified description of converso economic activity within Castille, as there was a great deal of overlapping between the various sectors of the economy. For example, conversos were utilized as agents, scribes and educators on aristocratic estates in the north as well as in the south, and served as municipal officials throughout the entire peninsula. Yet such similarities should not obscure the basic economic division of Castille into three major spheres of production, each with its general geographic base. The organization of the economy of the south was based upon the massive land holdings of the great magnates, and as such was primarily pastoral and agricultural in nature. The rest of Castille, on the other hand, was characterized by a more equitable distribution and intensive cultivation of the land, and thus had achieved greater progress in its evolution from a feudal to a more modern, "precapitalist" mode of production. Contrary to myth, the northern and central portions of Castille— which, with the exception of Seville and Granada, were the sole economically active centers of the bourgeoise— saw a rather advanced degree of specialization and internal economic articulation, due in large measure to the spectacular progress of the wool trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The putting-out mode of industrial organization had already been established in the central meseta by the end of the fifteenth century, which led to friction between the industrialists and the exporting merchants concerning the destination

of native wool. Royal intervention was required to setlle the dispute several times during the course of the century,[91] and the question was finally arbitrated by the Catholic Kings who limited the availability of native wool for domestic manufacture to no more than one-third of the total amount of wool produced in Castille.[92]

These three internal divisions within the Castilian middle class were reflected not only in the relations of each with the others (as exemplified in the dispute alluded to above) but also in the relations between the middle class and the upper estates within each of the three major areas. In the north the converso urban oligarchy was closely related to crown and aristocratic interests, as the livelihood of all concerned depended upon the profitable export of wool to northern Europe. In the center the New Christian bourgeoise became increasingly alienated from the crown and nobility, as the needs of the growing domestic industry came into conflict with crown support for wool exportation. And in the south the conversos were directly dependent upon the aristocracy for patronage and protection, occupying a position within the overall economic structure of Castille that Weber has rightly termed "pariah capitalism".[93]

Given this identity of converso economic interests in the north and south with those of the crown and the nobility, it is not surprising that these areas would remain royalist during the Comunero revolution. That the social divisions within the bourgeoise and the relations of the middle class to the other estates within the various regional social structures would be reflected in the Comunidades is of fundamental importance for the understanding of that movement. Throughout the years 1520-21, as indeed during the entire history of the converso class of Castille, the course of action adopted by individual

New Christians would be determined not by a fictitious ideological unity but rather by the peculiar social structures of their respective communities. The near-impossibility of making valid generalizations about the converso class as a whole cannot be overemphacized. Thus when we speak of converso participation in the Comunero movement, it should be understood that we are referring to a particular group with its own specific economic and religious interests. Once we have made this vital distinction, we are free to appreciate the crucial role played by ideologically progressive New Christians of the central meseta in the frustrated revolution of the Comunidades.[94]

B. The Comunidades as Middle Class Revolution

The revolution of 1520-21 was, all told, a rather confused and sorry affair. It is clear that the revolutionaries failed to unite the cities under decisive leadership in support of a coherent program of social reform. Timidity and legalism led them to throw away significant tactical advantages in the fall of 1520, while the steadily increasing radicalism effectively alienated the tentative support of certain elements of the aristocracy. The final encounter at Villalar was more of a rout than a battle, and royal authority was subsequently reestablished without great difficulty. Furthermore, owing to the very complexity of the uprising, it is possible to attribute a wide range of motives to those who supported the Comunero cause.[95] Doubtless some were inspired more by opportunism than conviction: for example, disgruntled nobles like Girón and Acuña saw the disturbances as a chance for personal aggrandizement and revenge upon the royal authority that had denied them the exercise of political power. The royalist chroniclers go to great lengths to enumerate the personal resentments and jealousies that motivated certain Comuneros to armed resistance.[96]

In spite of the questionable validity of these reports, it is not difficult to understand why several influential historians have interpreted the Comunidades as nothing more than a personalist "feudal revolt" against "modern" absolute monarchy.[97]

Nonetheless, the Comunero movement represented in the long run a serious attempt to redress the balance of power within Castilian society away from an economy and system of government dominated by monarchical and aristocratic interests in favor of a nationalistic economic policy based on the protection of native industry and limitations upon royal power through representative government based on the traditional Cortes. In more "modern" terms, it can be said that the Comunero program, though confused and never fully articulated, comprised the ultimate goals of a constitutional monarchy and a mercantilist economy. Far from being an anarchic "feudal revolt", the Comuneros represented a progressive attempt by the industrial bourgeoise of Castile to reverse the preponderance of power exercised by the crown and grandes who in turn championed a reactionary social structure based upon a late medieval pastoral economy. It was indeed a contest between "city" and "countryside"— a definitive clash between two conflicting modes of economic and political organization.[98][99]

We should therefore not be surprised to find the most progressive sector of the converso class-- the industrial bourgeoise of the central meseta and the Inquisitional reformers— according full support to the Comunero movement. The mercantilist and constitutional society envisioned by the bourgeoise revolutionaries would have doubtless proven more conducive to the development of an open society extending tolerance towards the supposed heterodoxy of the New Christians. Yet to accept Inquisitional reform as the sole explanation for converso participation in the Comunidades would be to mistake form for substance.

The New Christian commitment to revolutionary action was a radical affirmation of a view of society profoundly opposed in all its ramifications to the unitary, racialist Castille of the Inquisition and the statutes of blood purity.

The reasons for the failure of the revolution of 1520-21 are varied and complex, but the most adequate explanation seems to have been the general lack of strength and integration characteristic of the Castilian bourgeoise in the early modern period. The weakness of the middle class within the overall framework of Castilian society and the inability of the bourgeoise to oppose a united front against the other estates were the root causes of the debacle of 1521. This inherent debility was in itself a logical consequence of a society strongly resistent to the development of nascent industrial capitalism through its having systematized the misallocation of its most valuable resources (in this case, through the exportation of its merino wool).[100] The defeat of the Comuneros, signifying the triumph of the exporting interests— the crown, nobility, and the northern merchants— over the nascent industrial centers of New Castille can be directly attributed to the weakness and internal divisions within the Castilian middle class.[101]

The failure of the southern towns to rally to the Comunero banner and the fact that the weak Comunero movements there were anti-Semitic in nature are explained by the different social structure evolved in Andalusia. As noted above, the converso bourgeois oligarchy of the south was directly dependent upon the nobility for protection from the pressures of the lower classes. That the "pariah" middle class of the south was pro-aristocratic in orientation explains the strange affair of the Comunidad of Seville, which was in reality one faction of nobles (the Arcos-Ponce de Leon house) agitating anti-converso

anti-converso sentiments in order to weaken the power of the rival Guzmán-Medina-Sidonia family. The conversos of Andalusia were too closely-related to the aristocracy to adopt the independence of political action characteristic of their northern brethren.

Similarly, the New Christian bourgeoise of Burgos, while adhering to the initial Comunero grievances during the first four months of the revolution (especially in the wake of the burning of Medina del Campo), left the Holy League in November 1520 to realign itself with the crown-aristocracy bloc, as represented by the Constable. The economic interests of the Burgos merchants (who, significantly, had never been exposed to serious Inquisitional persecution) were more closely tied to those of the crown than to those of the preindustrialists of the central meseta.

Some tentative conclusions: first, that internal structural differences within the Castilian economy itself played a crucial role in deciding the outcome of the Comunero revolution. The ultimate lack of adherence of the southern towns and the northern centers of Burgos and the Basque ports fatally debilitated the Comunero movement by narrowing its base of support to the weakest sector of the weakest class in Castille-- that is, the preindustrial elements of the middle class. Secondly, while not wishing to underestimate the importance of varying and at times contradictory ideological factors (such as nationalism, regionalism, constitutionalism, anti-Inquisitional sentiments, etc.), I am convinced that the principal causes of the revolution were socio-economic in character. The conversos <u>in toto</u> were not, as I have repeatedly affirmed, characterized by unity in thought and action regarding such fundamental questions as the Inquisition, economic development, and so forth. The same could of course be said of the middle class in general. The

differing postures adopted by the three major sectors of the middle class in 1520-21 are best explained by their respective positions within the overall framework of Castilian society.

The consequences of the defeat of Villalar were as lasting as they were disastrous. In terms of the development of the Castilian economy, the royalist victory signified the triumph of wool exportation over the more progressive alternative of native industrial cloth production. This predominance of wool export,[102] plus the inept handling of the massive influx of precious metals from the New World, ensured Castille's retardation in the establishment of the firm industrial infrastructure crucial to healthy capitalist development through the maintenance of high price levels which placed domestic products at an enormous disadvantage with the rest of Europe. Secondly, the royalist victory reaffirmed the internationalist economic policies of Charles regarding trade flow and protection. Imperial concern for the well-being of the industry of the Low Countries worked to the detriment of the Castilian cloth manufacturers, who desperately needed trade and monetary protection in the wake of the price rises caused by the gold and silver imports. And thirdly, the triumph of the pastoral economy continued the progressive weakening of the agricultural base,[103] leading to higher and more inequitable tax rates and increased grain importation. In sum, the defeat of the Comuneros confirmed serious structural imbalances which had already existed as tendencies within the Castilian economy, which in turn contributed greatly to the "failure" of capitalist development in Spain. As the history of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries all too clearly shows, this triumph of economic reaction would have literally catastrophic consequences.

Politically, the defeat of Villalar consummated for all practical purposes the steady destruction of municipal liberty initiated by the centralizing policies of the Catholic Kings. The virtual emasculation of the Cortes and the concommitant submission of the third estate to the monarchy removed all remaining checks upon the growth of absolutism in Castille. That this absolutism was firmly implanted is testified to by the fact that the next serious attempt to limit the powers of the Castilian monarchy would not be made until the Cortes of Cádiz of 1812.

The frustration of economic development and the destruction of municipal liberty proved a tragedy for all of Spain, and especially for the converso class. Charles' refusal to allow any significant reform in Inquisitional procedure reaffirmed the subjugation by attrition of Castille's most productive and intellectually progressive minority.[104] The policy of forced assimilation through the ongoing use of terror deprived Spain of the invaluable contributions of criticism and self-examination possible only in an atmosphere of pluralism and tolerance. Seen in retrospect, Villalar was symbolic of the change from the progressive dynamism of pluricultural Castille to the sterility of speculative thought and the bankruptcy of action associated with the totalitarian society of the Spanish Counterreformation.

II. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE COMUNERO REVOLUTION

Historical studies dealing with the events of 1520-21 can be divided into four major chronological periods, each favoring a particular ideological interpretation of the revolution. The century immediately following the failure of the uprising saw a number of chronicles and "memorials" that for the most part circulated in manuscript form. The majority of these works exhibited a marked aversion to the Comunero goal of limiting royal authority, yet it must be admitted that all were not insensitive to the grievances of the revolutionaries. Little interest was evinced in the Comuneros during the years following Sandoval's massive compilation of 1604-06, and it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that attention was once again focused upon the revolution of 1520. The liberal reformers of the second generation of the Spanish Enlightenment considered the defeat of the constitutionalist Comunero movement to be the origins of "decadence" and absolutism in Castille. With scant regard for historical accuracy, the liberals expounded this interpretation in verse and drama throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Conservative scholars reacted to this interpretation by developing the counter-proposition that the Comuneros were xenophobic feudal reactionaries who resisted the modern universal imperialism of Charles V. The view that the Comunidades represented little more than a feudal revolt quickly caught on, and became the orthodoxy of the twentieth century. Recent studies have seen attempts at a liberal revision of this thesis which accepts the basic conclusions of the nineteenth century liberals while rejecting their highly subjective methodology. The most recent exposition of this interpretation (and not coincidentally, the most thorough study to date) concludes by noting that the liberal tradition was correct in dating 1521 as the effective beginning of the "decadence" of modern Spain.[1]

A fifth tendency should be acknowledged-- that is, those studies who ex-

hibit, for one reason or another, little or no ideological interpretation. These works are catalogued in Appendix B.

I. CHRONICLES AND CONTEMPORARIES[1]

The first work of importance for the historiography of the Comunero revolution[2] is the Opus Epistolarum of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1459-1526), published at Alcalá in 1530. Peter Martyr[3] was a noted Italian humanist scholar who entered royal service under the Catholic Kings and was instrumental in the founding of a school at court for the education of the royal infantes and sons of the higher nobility. He was present at the reconquest of Granada and also served as diplomat to the court of the Sultan of Egypt. His massive correspondence, published posthumously, contains numerous references to the Comuneros, as he resided in Valladolid during the years 1520-21. Pérez characterizes him as a "perspicacious observer; he furnishes, in this correspondence written in Latin, information and commentaries of an indisputable documentary value"[4]. Martyr, although a royalist, manifests considerable sympathy for the Comunero cause. In one of the better-known passages he states that

> Fortune is disposing her chessboard so that either the realms will shake off the royal oppression and win freedom and be great, or endure a yet heavier oppression under the hands of the grandes.[5]

Another court figure who refers to the events of 1520-21 was Francisco López de Villalobos, the noted converso physician to both the Catholic Kings and the Emperor. His anti-Comunero sentiments were shared by his close friend and fellow converso Francesillo de Zúñiga, the court jester. In his famous Crónicas, Zúñiga directs his sarcasm at various Comunero leaders, often in a veiled and cryptic

manner. Of special importance is the following anecdote:

> (A group of influential personages, including D. Francisco de los Cobos) were advised how Don Rodrigo de la Rúa, auditor for Antonio de Fonseca, principal auditor of Castille, and Hernando Álvarez Zapata, secretary of the illustrious queen Doña Isabel, and the doctor Talavera, resident of Salamanca, and Fray Pascual, Bishop of Burgos, and the secretary Almazán, and Conchillos with the secretary Villegas... went to San Pedro de Cardeña, where the Cid Ruy Diaz was buried. And all having arrived, they spoke secretly with the Cid, and begged him to help them, and that he remember that they were servants of his father Diego Laíñez and Laín Calvo his grandfather. The Cid answered them in secret; what happened between them is either not known or they have not wanted to say...[8]

Márquez Villanueva interprets this story to mean the following:

> that group of influential courtiers approached the Emperor in order that he, in remembrance of their services and those that these conversos had lent to his father and his grandfather, would impede the Inquisitional process...[9]

As we have seen, the attempts by various important conversos to effect changes in Inquisitional procedure during the years following the death of Ferdinand constituted an important precedent to certain Comunero demands.

The great majority of the works referring to the Comunidades written by contemporaries and official chroniclers were not published in the sixteenth century. Such is the case with López Villalobos and Zúñiga, as well as numerous other historians referred to below. However, an exception to this general rule must be made in the instance of the publication of the popular Epístolas Familiares of Fr. Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545).[10] Like Peter Martyr, Guevara had been attached to the court of the Catholic Kings, and he too stated his observations of the Comunidades in epistolary form, although his literary fame rests prinpally upon the Horloge of Princes (1529), a work that achieved great popularity throughout Europe. The Epístolas (3 vols, 1539) is a collection of moral essays,

many of a distinct polemical tone. Some six of the letters are imaginary epistles to the leaders of the Comunero movement (Acuña, Padilla, María Pacheco, and Girón). While it is clear that Guevara actually witnessed the events of 1520-21, his work contains little information not to be found in other sources. The only important original statement is the accusation of deliberate treason levelled at Girón, the first Captain-General of the Comunero army.[11] Guevara's rhetorical persuasions have led both Seaver and Pérez, the major sources on the early bibliography of the Comuneros, to question his accuracy and hence utility as a source.[12]

As noted above, the great majority of sixteenth century works referring to the Comunidades were not published at this time. (This is not to deny their circulation in manuscript, attested to by Sandoval's compilation of 1604-6). A list of these contemporary studies in approximate chronological order would comprise the following:

Juan Carrillo, Berdadera relación de las Comunidades , written ca. 1531, (edited Madrid 1841)

anon., Discurso de la Comunidad de Sevilla en 1520 por un clérigo apasionado de la casa de Niebla, ca. 1530 (edited 1881)

Diego Hernández Ortiz, Memorias de las que obo en el reyno llamadas Comunidades, date uncertain (edited 1945)

Juan de Pantigoso, Relación de la traslación que se hizo en la ciudad de Segovia de las reliquias de San Frutos, date uncertain (edited Segovia 1889)

Sancho Cota, Memorias, between 1538-46 (edited 1964)

Juan Maldonado, El movimiento de Espana o sea Historia de la revolución conocida con el nombre de la Comunidades de Castilla, ca. 1545 (translated from the Latin and edited 1840)

Alonso de Santa Cruz, Crónica del Emperador Carlos V, ca. 1551 (edited 1920-25)

Pero Mejía, Historia del Emperador Carlos V, ca. 1551, (edited 1918)

Pedro de Alcocer, Relación de algunas cosas que pasaron en estos reinos desde que murió la reina católica doña Isabel hasta que acabaron en la ciudad de Toledo las Comunidades, ca. 1554 (edited 1872)

Francisco López de Gómara, Anales del Emperador Carlos V, ca. 1557-58 (translated into English and edited 1912)

Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, De rebus gestis Caroli Quinti, ca. 1560, (edited 1780 by the Royal Academy of History)

The more important works are those by Maldonado, Santa Cruz, Mejía, and Alcocer.[13]

Little is known about Juan Maldonado (1500?-post 1545), aside from the fact that he was a cleric and claimed to have witnessed the rise and fall of the Comunidad of Burgos.[14] There are several notable discrepancies in his narrative, which is written in the form of imaginary dialogues with foreigners, but nonetheless he gives a general impression of objectivity and accuracy.

Alonso de Santa Cruz (1500?-72) was a royal cosmographer under Charles V and a chronicler to Philip II.[15] Sevillian by birth, he sailed as treasurer of Sebastian Cabot's voyage of 1525, and was later retained by Charles to lecture on scientific matters before the Imperial court. As a chronicler, he published nothing. His attitude towards the Comuneros is sympathetic; his lengthy study reproduces many documents, but he seems to suffer from the same lack of accuracy common to many of the sixteenth century writers.

An exception to this generalization is the rather meticulous account of Pero Mejía (1499-1551).[16] Also from Seville, Mejia was studying law at the University of Salamanca during the years 1520-21. A writer of vast culture, his patrons included Fernando Colón (illegitimate son of the Admiral) and Juan Luis Vives; later, both Marlowe and Montaigne would borrow from his writings.[17] His narrative is carefully written and to the point.

Pedro de Alcocer (1490?-post 1551) was a servant of Pedro López de Padilla, father of the leader of the Comunidad of Toledo.[18] His work deals only with the history of the uprising in that city, and due to its sympathetic bias was not

published in the author's lifetime. Of special interest are the astrological predictions and the wealth of picturesque detail. The Relación would serve as the principal source for Martínez de la Rosa's highly dramatic La Viuda de Padilla, discussed below.

Two other works should be mentioned under this first general category. Prudencio de Sandoval (1560-1621) wrote a very popular two-volume history of the reign of Charles V entitled Historia de la Vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V ("History of the Life and Deeds of the Emperor Charles V", Valladolid, 1604-6).[19] Sandoval was a Benedictine theologian and royal chronicler to Philip III. His Historia has served as the principal secondary source for the history of the Comuneros well into the twentieth century. Sandoval draws freely upon Mejía and Santa Cruz, as well as including numerous previously unconsulted documents from the royal archives. His work is noted for its scrupulous and impartial nature.

Also worth mentioning is Diego de Colmenares' Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla ("History of the illustrious city of Segovia and compendium of the histories of Castille", Segovia, 1637).[20] Regarding this work, Pérez remarks the following:

> Colmenares, a Segovian, seeks to save the honor of his compatriots; he forces himself to assign the responsibility for the troubles to elements from outside the town of Segovia.[21]

II. THE LIBERAL INTERPRETATION

Virtually no historical study of the Comunero movement was attempted during the rest of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries.[22] Such a silence must be attributed to the low level of interest in historical investigation during the years of Habsburg decline, and the corresponding acceptance of

Sandoval's lengthy work as the "definitive" statement on the issue. However, the second half of the eighteenth century saw a renewed interest in history in Spain, mainly as a result of the growing penetration of Enlightenment ideals among a new generation of government reformers and intellectuals. Royal encouragement led to the founding of the Royal Academy of History under Philip V in 1738, with the express purpose of exploring Spanish history in a more scientific manner.[23] After a few initial disappointments, historical studies quickly developed; under Charles III alone over 250 pieces of historical writing were produced. Pulgar, Sepúlveda, Ocampo and Morales, Sandoval, and above all Mariana were edited or republished for the first time; also, several important journals and periodicals were founded. Liberal reformers such as Jovellanos encouraged the study of Spanish history, and urged writers to "let your objects be the Spanish heroes".[24] For Jovellanos and the other intellectuals responsible for the birth of modern Spanish liberalism, the heroes par excellence were the Comuneros.

This new concept of Spanish history was constitutionalist and anti-feudal. Jovellanos himself saw the origins of Spain's economic and political retardation in the disruption of the traditional Spanish "constitution" by feudal lords and clerics to the detriment of the middle class. This medieval disruption led to the "brilliant and sad epoch that began with the death of the Catholic Monarchs and whose end is hard to foresee".[25]

This liberal attitude is further exemplified in a series of anonymous letters on political and social questions written to the Count of Lerena between 1787 and 1790. The author of these very interesting letters identifies the political progress of Spain with the people's retention of civil liberties. When liberty was suppressed under the Habsburgs, Spain faced disaster. Interestingly enough, the anonymous writer attributed the establishment of royal absolutism not to the

Catholic Kings, but to the Cisneros regency which Charles later emulated. Thus the revolution of the Comunidades was the "last sigh of Castillian liberty".[26] Other writers adopted similar positions; as Juan Pablo Forner put it, "one can doubt whether the reign of Charles V was so prosperous for his kingdom as favorable to the personal glory of the prince".[27] Richard Herr notes that

> Forner did indeed doubt it, for he asserted that the revolutions of Charles V' day were the 'origin of our decadence'. He called for the writing of histories that would give the truth on the period of Habsburg rule, during which Felipe II had furthered the decline by squandering Spain's wealth throughout Europe and the growth of the clergy had quickly depopulated the country. According to Forner one must also study the expulsion of the Jews and Moriscos. He asked: was the exile of four million Spaniards in whose hand lay the nation's commerce and agriculture just and necessary or senseless?[28]

One of the more forceful advocates of the new liberal view of the Comuneros was the poet José Marchena, whose "A la Nación Española" attributed the blame for Spain's decadence to the defeat of the Comuneros in 1521:

> Fields of Villalar, did you perchance bury the generous heroes, defenders of the liberty, the energy, and the patriotism of Hesperia? Shades of Padilla, and you, great soul of Dona María Coronel, who bewail in your tomb the cowardice of your descendants, inspire in Spaniards that valor with which you defended within Toledo the last remnants of our dying liberty.[29]

Marchena's slogan "Let Cortes, Cortes be the cry!" eloquently illustrates the liberals' interpretation of the Comunidades as a suppressed constitutional uprising.

Marchena was hardly alone in his sentiments. Other writers, such as Santiváñez and Hevía, adopted the same position. Probably the most famous of these poets was Manuel José Quintana, who in 1797 composed the "Oda a Juan de Padilla" (portions of which are reproduced in Appendix C). And in 1799, the economist Joaquín María Acevedo y Pola, in his Memoria económica-política sobre el fomento

de España labelled the defeat of the Comuneros the starting point of Spain's economic decline. As Herr points out,

> The strife ended the prosperity of the late fifteenth century by destroying the factories and 'capitalists' of Castille, he explained. American gold and Spain's later foreign wars only finished the process.[30]

It is important to remember that these constitutionalist sentiments were not espoused by the first generation of "enlightened" reformers (Feijóo, Floridablanca, Campomanes, etc.) who were firm believers in absolute monarchy. Rather the birth of the liberal interpretation of Spanish history was due to the efforts of the "second generation" of reformers— contemporaries of and often sympathetic to and the goals of the French Revolution. This crucial fact is attested to by Manuel Godoy when, in 1795, he blames two sources for the rising revolutionary agitation in Spain. These were the spread of French revolutionary propaganda, and the study of similar events in Spanish history:

> Our own annals, from the time of the Goths, offered dangerous examples, some not so long past. The deposing of Henry IV, the Comunidades of Castille and the Germanías of Valencia in the days of Carlos V, the prestige of the former constitution of Aragón, the disorders of the kingdom under Felipe II, and the sad recollection of the fueros destroyed in that reign— such memories fermented in some heads and became projects.[31]

The "second generation" of Spanish liberals (ca. post-1800), while continuing the work of their predecessors of the Enlightenment, formed their interpretation of Spanish history as a consequence of their active participation in the political struggles of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Strongly influenced by the Napoleonic invasion and the Riego revolution of 1820-23, the liberals would

confront Spanish history with pronounced polemical intentions. Questions of historical veracity and scholarly resort to primary source materials were on the whole ignored. Rather, the liberals turned to the Spanish past in order to seek illustrious examples of heroism and devotion to liberal and nationalistic principles to serve as inspiration in their fight against the modern counterparts of reaction and absolutism. Pérez enumerates the three major themes of the liberal "historians" in relation to the Comuneros: liberty (traditional Castilian liberties versus Habsburg absolutism); nationalism (the goal of national independence being inseparable from that of political liberty); and the negative influence of the Habsburgs on the course of Spanish history.[32]

This utilization of history as an ideological weapon led to some rather bizarre results. Public veneration of the three major Comunero leaders reached new heights of emotional intensity. Dr. Marañón notes that during the Napoleonic war the guerrilla leader Juan Martín "el Empecinado" had the remains of the three Comunero captains exhumed and carried in processions throughout Spain.[33] During the Riego revolution, the tricentenary of the Comunidades was celebrated in the Castilian cities with the erection of numerous plaques, statues, etc.[34] Some of of the "exaltados", or radical liberals, formed secret societies such as the "Comuneros de Castilla" or the "Hijos de Padilla".[35]

The first and foremost writer of this "second generation" of liberals was Martínez de la Rosa, famous both as a political and literary figure. His work dealing with the Comuneros was the five-act tragedy La Viuda de Padilla, written in Cádiz in July 1812.[36] The theme of La Viuda is the defense of the city of Toledo by Doña María Pacheco following the execution of her husband at Villalar. The first and second acts consist of the indomitable widow's refusal to surrender the city, despite the pleas of her father-in-law and the machinations of the

traitor Pero Laso de la Vega. The final acts see the betrayal of the city to the royalist forces, and the suicide of Doña María, who refuses to the end to bow to tyranny.

The emphasis of the play is upon the opposition of liberty to absolutism, and the resistance of the heroic Spanish people to the hated foreign invaders. The parallels to the Napoleonic forces besieging Cádiz are explicitly acknowledged by the playwright. Needless to say, the historical accuracy of the work is highly questionable: Padilla's father had actually died before the siege of Toledo, and Doña María, as is well known, did not commit suicide, but rather fled in disguise to Portugal. The plays, in spite of its tendencies towards rhetorical bombast, has some passages of considerable literary quality.

More significant from a historical point of view than the play itself was the very influential introduction to the 1814 edition, called the "Bosquejo Histórico de las Comunidades de Castilla" (Historical Outline of the Comunidades of Castille). In it, Martínez develops the three themes noted above, with special emphasis on the detrimental effect of the Hasburgs on the development of Spanish political liberty. Of special importance is his comparison of constitutional liberty in Spain and the rest of Europe prior to the defeat of Villalar:

> the Spanish nation has the glory of being the first in Europe to have had such an idea of limited monarchy, in which are counterposed all the classes and authorities of the state; and this in an epoch when France, which likes to call herself the mistress of political science, had then almost lost the memory of her 'États Généraux'; and when England, with equal pretensions to such a pompous title, found herself so retarded in the course of her liberty, that she took more than a century to reach such a point in her political experience, that was common in Spain in the time of the Comunidades.[37]

Martínez' work had a wide circulation during his lifetime, and must be reckoned as the true cornerstone of the modern interpretation of the Comunidades.

The liberal interpretation of the Comunero movement enjoyed great favor during most of the nineteenth century, and was duly reflected in a number of important historical works. Martínez Marina's Teoría de las Cortes o grandes juntas nacionales de los reinos de Castilla y Leon (Theory of the Cortes or great national assemblies of the kingdoms of Castille and Leon, 3 vols., Madrid, 1813),[38] a work of considerable significance for the history of Spanish parliamentary institutions, treats the Comuneros in a very sympathetic light. Eugenio Tapia's Historia de la Civilización Española (History of Spanish Civilization, 3 vols., Madrid, 1840) has a lengthy exposition of the Comunero revolution, which Tapia calls the "glorious deed" and "very just undertaking".[39] A. Ferrer del Río's Decadencia en España, Primera Parte: Historia del Levantamiento de las Comunidades de Castilla 1520-21 (Madrid, 1850)[40] is a historical narrative richer in documentation than that of Martínez, although both propound what is essentially the same theme.

The liberal interpretation slowly gained acceptance throughout the course of the century, both in Spain and abroad. Several English works could be mentioned in this respect. First, a very useful one-volume History of Spain and Portugal by M.M. Busk (London, 1833, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) gives a rather accurate chronological account of the revolution in spite of its reliance on rather poor sources.[41] The book is full of anti-Catholic sentiment and as such is rather favorable to the heterodox Comuneros, whose goal is interpreted as being a "very limited royal authority".[42]

Another interesting account of the Comunero revolution appears in a commentary article in the Sept. 9, 1854 edition of the New York Daily Tribune. The author of the unsigned article is the philosophe qua reporter, Karl Marx. Despite the many inaccuracies, the account is important for its recognition of the Comuneros

as a "revolution" and not a mere feudal "revolt":

> Notwithstanding these ever-recurring insurrections, there has been in Spain, up to the present century, no serious revolution, except the War of the Holy League in the time of Carlos I, or Charles V...[43]

As can be expected, the author still has a traditional appreciation of the political significance of the Comuneros, for he remarks "at its bottom was the defense of the liberties of medieval Spain against the encroachments of modern absolutism".[44]

Finally, I would note the comments concerning the Comuneros in the various foreign guidebooks to Spain written at the turn of the century. Albert Calvert's famous series[45] has a number of references to the events of 1520-21, especially in the volumes on Toledo and Salamanca. Calvert, a very interesting sort of liberal, identifies the Comuneros with "the cause of liberty"[46], and refers deprecatingly to Charles' "fraudulently obtained sovereignity"[47]. Another relatively well-known English guidebook was Hannah Lynch's Toledo: the Story of an Old Spanish Capital[48], which is even more pronounced in its anti-Habsburg sentiments. Miss Lynch's account is very pro-Padilla, and she characterizes Charles as "hideous"[49] and the "Prince of Perfidy".[50]

III. THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION

The characterization of the Comunidades as a traditionalistic, quasi-feudal rebellion found its first systematic advocacy in the writings of the so-called "Generation of 1898". Yet conservative reaction to the liberal interpretation of the Comunero uprising had developed throughout the nineteenth century. Protesting against the liberals' rather careless and tendentious use of documentary evidence,

scholars began publishing many of the important primary source materials relating to the events of 1516-22. Maldonado's chronicle was translated and edited in 1840, Mejía's in 1852, and Alcocer's in 1872. The famous collection Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España was initiated in 1842, and several volumes were devoted to the publication of Comunero documents. But most important were the six volumes of documents edited by Sr. Manuel Danvila of the Royal Academy of History (published Madrid, 1897-1900, by the Academy). The Historia Crítica y Documentada de las Comunidades de Castilla to this day remains the principal primary source for the study of the Comunero revolution. It consists of over 2000 pages of documents relating to the Comunidades, taken mainly from the National Historical Archives in Madrid and the Royal Archives of Simancas. While the collection is of inestimable historiographical value, it is, at least from the purely textual point of view, characterized by several glaring faults. Seaver's evaluation is the best:

> Unfortunately the critical examination of this overwhelming wealth of material Danvila scarcely attempted. No attempt is made to conjecture emendation, or indicate sentence division, or supply lacunae, or to comment in any way on countless passages which as printed are a farrago of nonsense. Documents are repeatedly duplicated; misdated; undated, even when a slight examination of their text reveals the date; misplaced even when dated. No attempt is made in footnotes to supply, as may repeatedly be done, corrections or explanations of puzzling points from the other documents (indeed there is no cross reference), or from the other chroniclers... Further, beyond a not too careful chronological grouping, no attempt has been made to construct a "critical" narrative. Such narrative text as Danvila supplies has many errors as to dates and identities of person, such as can be detected from a careful examination of his own material.[51]

As the basis in documentation was being established, several specialized studies began to appear. They were for the most part local histories that dealt with the Comuneros of a particular city— for example, Lecea's works on Segovia

have proven to be specially valuable. But in spite of the new wealth of documents, several influential studies appeared that once again ignored primary sources and substituted poetic lyricism for historical accuracy. It is in these works of the Generation of 1898 writers that the interpretation of the Comuneros as a reactionary movement finds it first widespread acceptance.

Angel Ganivet's Idearium Espanol (Madrid, 1898) is an exemplary statement of this tendency. With absolutely no use of documents, Ganivet roundly affirms that the Comuneros were in no sense liberal, but rather were narrow-minded, nationalistic bigots bent on preserving their own feudal privileges. An extended quote from the Idearium will serve to illustrate this position:

> The Comuneros were neither liberal or libertarian, as many would have us to believe; they were not romantic heroes inflamed by new and generous ideas and defeated in the battle of Villalar by the numerical superiority of the Imperialists and by a contrary rain that prevented them from seeing the enemy; they were rigid Castillians, exclusivists, and defended a traditional and nationalist politic against the innovating and European one of Charles V. And in reference to the battle of Villalar, it looks as if a "battle" never really took place.[52]

The terms are now completely reversed: the Comuneros are traditionalist reactionaries and Carolingian absolutism is the modern "innovating" force in this conflict of opposing ideologies. Why this sudden switch? The answer to this problem is found in the Europeizing tendencies of the 1898 intellectuals: Charles is identified with Europe, internationalism, and the new Erasmian ideas from the North. Given these terms, it is natural that the Comuneros should represent the narrow-minded, closed society of Castille that the firmly internationalistic writers of 1898 regarded as responsible for Spain's economic and political decadence.

Ganivet's view enjoyed great popularity and a very wide circulation, and as such formed the basis for the twentieth century interpretation of the Comuneros.[53]

Several important works appeared in connection with the celebration of the fourth centenary of the Comunero revolution. One very interesting article is the "Centenario de las Comunidades" by Narciso Alonso Cortés (published in Valladolid, 1921).[54] Pérez considers this work to be a continuation of the liberal interpretation.[55] While it is certain that the author is firmly anti-Imperialist, I feel that his interpretation of the Comunero movement per se is much closer to Ganivet's position:

> The triumph of the Castillian Comunidades would have affirmed in Spain the conservation of tradition, fervent religiosity, attachment to the land, patriarchal simplicity. The triumph of Charles brought the Lutheran contamination, libertinage in customs, and the greed for new things...[56]

The author's characterization of the Comunidades as affirming "the conservation of tradition" and "patriarchal simplicity", as well as his identification of Charles with Lutheranism and "libertinage" leads me to conclude that he hardly perceives the Comuneros to be the glorious precursors of modern Spanish liberalism.

Another centenary study was Fr. Luis G. Alonso-Getino's short biographical article on the radical Comunero Fr. Pablo de León.[57] The tone of the study is best indicated by the author's attempt to disassociate the good friar from the evil effects produced by social revolution. Fr. Alonso-Getino's conservative sympathies are obvious. The Comuneros were, according to him, well-intentioned but simplistic; the protest was just, the resort to action was not. "So right and just was the Comunero protest as mad the uprising..."[58] The Comunero's demands were "always the same tired song, amorphous and unending".[59] The final line notes that "popular revolts... count upon unity in aspiration, but not in method; they are easily destructive, and constructive only by a miracle".[60]

The next major contribution to the study of the Comunero movement, and certainly the most important narrative account since Sandoval's chronicle, was The Great Revolt in Castile by H.L. Seaver (New York, 1928, 393 pp). His account is almost strictly narrative, based as it is on a traditional methodology. Seaver offers very little interpretation and evinces few reasons for the revolution; the ones that he does mention are strictly "political" (e.g. hate of the "rapacious Flemings", traditional Spanish xenophobia, etc.) The result is a complete vacuum from a socio-economic point of view. A good indication of Seaver's general attitude is given by a short passage on p. 305:

> Did the Comunero leaders see a grave danger which lurked in arraignment of the aristocracy? The Comunero movement was a protest against absentee kingship controlled by a foreign camarilla, and squandering the wealth of the realm on foreign ventures, administered through agents whom they could hold to no accountability. If from this aim they were diverted into an attack upon the social abuses inherent in the aristocratic structure of Castilian society, the Comuneros might find themselves directing, not a national resistance, but a class war-- and soon not directing but swept along by the tumult of blind and base passions released in class warfare. Armed support of a programme of political reform might be manageable and fruitful; indicting an aristocracy and encouraging its vassals to rise must certainly prove unmanageable, must unite all the grandees in defense of their class, alienate the few who were in the Comunero organization, and end fruitlessly in anarchy.[61]

His conclusion that the "base passions" of class warfare and social revolution would have inexorably led to anarchy is strongly reminiscent of Alonso-Getino's closing remarks. Yet is should be noted that although Seaver is quick to attribute motives of personal greed and resentment to the major Comunero leaders (in this case, Padilla, Acuña, Girón, and Ávalos), he maintains a certain objectivity and balance in his overall assessment of the movement.

Throughout the next three decades Spanish intellectuals, with few exceptions, tended to accept and propagate the conservative thesis. Writing in 1933,

the noted Catholic author José Bergamín wrote that "the revolutionary was Charles V, not the rebel Comuneros inspired by the particularist interest of illegitimate seigneuries".[62] José Ortega y Gasset observed in El Ocaso de las Revoluciones that

> the idea that some Spanish 'radicals' have had of linking their democratic politic with the uprising of the Comuneros reveals only the ignorance of history that, like a native vice, comes linked with radicalism.[63]

And the noted German historian of Charles V, Karl Brandi, saw the Comuneros as "traditionalists" because of their respect for the maintenance of the dynasty.[64]

The next major historical work on the Comunidades was a summary article by Sr. C. Alcázar Molina in the Falangist journal Escorial (1944), called "The Comunidades of Castille". Although the work is a good narrative summary of the major events of the Comunero movement, the author's interest in drawing parallels between the Comunidades and the Spanish Civil War is a bit over-stated. According to Alcázar, the Comuneros, motivated by "resentment", blindly and foolishly attack royal authority, leading to a virtual (the term is significant) "civil war". The article is full of such judgments as "the people, the popular masses, do not understand the universal meaning of the new conceptions of Charles V and his Court",[65] "terrible band of rancourous and resentful people that produce the worse catastrophes in these civil upheavals",[66] and "this war of the Comunidades could not be denied its monstrosity by having as its head a bishop and a woman".[67] Of particular interest is the long section devoted to the proletarian "reign of terror" in Medina,[68] and the almost humorous assessment of Doña Juana's actions in Tordesillas:

> In that dramatic summer of 1520, when Castille burned in civil war, all sorts of madnesses and revolutionary fantasies were

> agitated. And, curiously enough, the same people who dreamed these revolutionary madnesses were those who sought justification for their rebellion by capturing the will of Dona Juana the Mad... Perhaps she woke from her world to see another even more terrible: that of revolution and the blood that began to run throughout the country. Then she asked herself if she were the sane one and they the madmen. Or to the contrary. Surely she thought that Padilla and his followers were much more insane that she was, and this idea tempered her conduct making her to refuse to sign any document that the revolutionaries presented to her. She knew how to be faithful to the legality that Charles V represented, and to maintain her own madness, which was the true legality of Spain...[69]

Once again we encounter the theme of the Comuneros as medieval particularists (although in this case one would not be surprised to find them depicted wearing the red, yellow, and purple of the International Brigades). And once again, their opponent is the "new international politic that Charles V had come to represent". According to Alcázar, the tragic turn of events that made Villalar inevitable was caused solely by the intransigence of the rebel Comuneros:

> The revolutionaries suffered the eternal deception of those who conduct multitudes inflamed by incidents that stain with blood and a whole class of excesses their incipient government. The nobles... saw their lands and property, and even their own lives in danger; crimes and burnings, blood and destruction.[70]

And of course the author has high words of praise for the victorious Caesar, as the work concludes with the familiar strains of "Eternal Spain":[71]

> The Comunero rebellion, with its hates and petty passions, was drowned by the great imperial revolution of sixteenth-century Spain. The great revolutionary was Charles V and his councillors who brought to Castille and to Spain, after Villalar, the universal hour of the Empire. The Spaniards, united under the victorious banner of Charles V, knew how to realize their new and great destiny and win the Emperador to their cause, which was the great and profound one of Christianity and Spain. That which was born in Covadonga and nurtured throughout centuries; that which was linked to Burgundy, with Milan, Naples, Flandres, Germany, and America. That great voice of Spain, of eternity and grandeur, unique in her glory and her immortality. The united

> Spaniards felt it and loved it. And they made it with their blood, with their lives, with their faith and with their spirit. All this was possible because Charles V knew how to listen to them and to give to their fervor that of his universal and ingenious conception of the sixteenth century.[72]

It takes little imagination to guess who is the genial Caesar's twentieth century counterpart.[73]

Conservative intellectuals continued to propagate the theme of the Comuneros as intractable feudal reactionaries resisting the modern "universalism" of the Empire. In José María Pemán's estimation, the Comuneros represented the "struggle of the tribe against the Empire".[74] Luis Redonet, in his speech of acceptance to the Royal Academy of History, submitted that "neither was (the uprising) caused by a defense of liberty against supposed tyranny, although this tiring topic has been repeatedly affirmed".[75]

The most extreme statement of this conservative interpretation came, surprisingly enough, from a political liberal, Dr. Gregorio Marañón. In his biography of Antonio Pérez and the shorter "The Castles of the Comunidades of Castille", Dr. Marañón stigmatizes the Comunidades as a mere feudal rebellion: "in these commentaries we identify with feudal power that Castillian 'señores' who rose up, in name of the Comunidades, against the King".[76] The Castillians, according to the author, were "xenophobic to the point of hyperecstasy":[77]

> this xenophobic spirit of Castille was, needless to say, not open and progressive, liberal, but, as with all xenophobia, reactionary... In those times it had occurred to no one that the Comuneros were defending a supposedly lost liberty or that they were inflamed by a desire for progress and renovation. What those 'hidalgos' wanted was the contrary, to continue to live faithful to their traditional spirit and way of life.[78]

In Antonio Pérez, the author even attempts to classify the combatants within

the classic terms of twentieth century usage:

> In this war, and to the contrary of what until recently has been believed by those historians muddled by political ideas, the conservative and traditional spirit, the right, was represented by the Comuneros and the liberal and revisionist spirit, the Left, by those who faithfully followed the Emperor.[79]

Numerous other quotations could be cited to indicate Marañón's basic characterization of the Comuneros as retrogressive traditionalists.

Two other prominent Spanish historians affirmed their acceptance of the conservative version of the Comunidades. Sr. J. Cepeda Adán noted in 1956 that "the Castillian Comunidades are the ultimate sprout of the medieval order".[80] And Sr. E. Benito Ruano wrote in 1961 that

> Stripped of the liberal, romantic, democratic clothing, which presented it as the champion of popular liberties and adversary of tyranny, the cause of the Comunidades now appears to historians as one more oligarchic sentiment, in defense of class interests and seigneurial privileges.[81]

Pérez sums up the development of the conservative tradition as follows:

> From Ganivet to Marañón, the new interpretation of the "Comunidades" has by measures acquired coherence. At first, simple reaction against the great anachronism that saw in the rebels of 1520 the apostles of political liberty and a representative system, it now offers itself as a tentative rational and objective explanation. Then as Ganivet did not cite any sources, Dr. Marañón is not afraid of invoking the authority of texts; on two occasions at least, he retrenches himself behind the compilation of Danvila and his own researches...[82]

By the 1960's, this conservative interpretation of the Comuneros had almost completely displaced the older liberal evaluation. This fact is nowhere better illustrated than in the various "synthesis" works on sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish history by both Spanish and foreign historians.

A quick perusal of these works and their sources would serve to indicate the degree of acceptance of the conservative estimation of the Comuneros.

Trevor-Davies' excellent summary of the Comunidades (which draws heavily upon Seaver and Häbler) eschews all socio-economic interpretation, and reiterates Seaver's "political" claims identifying the Comuneros with the formerly "suppressed forces of anarchy".[83] Harold Livermore calls the Comuneros the "defenders of a conservative and popular form of social organization".[84] Pierre Vilar, writing in 1960, labels the Comunidades the "last spasm of medieval practice".[85] The textbook Introducción a la Historia de España (Introduction to the History of Spain, 1963) by Ubieto, Reglá, and Jover has Charles represent "European and Renaissance modernism" as opposed to the Comuneros "tied to a corporativist traditionalism and some urban privileges incompatible with the affirmation of absolute monarchy and estate capitalism".[86] Probably the best statement of this moderate acceptance of the conservative interpretation is found in J.H. Elliott's Imperial Spain 1469-1716 (1963). Mr. Elliott devotes considerable attention to the Comuneros, and notes that their defeat was indeed the end of Castilian liberty.[87] Yet his analysis of the motives of the Comuneros clearly aligns him with the conservative strand that we have been examining. On pp. 148-49 Mr. Elliott states that

> The revolt of the Comuneros... was a confused affair, lacking in cohesion and a sense of positive purpose, but at the same time expressing, however inarticulately, deep-seated grievances and a burning sense of national indignation. Essentially it was a movement against, rather than for, any particular object; in so far as the Comuneros were animated by any constructive ideals, these consisted in the preservation of Old Castile-- a Castile untouched by the dangerous winds that were beginning to blow so strongly from abroad. In spite of the determination of nineteenth-century historians to depict the revolt as liberal and democratic, it was in its origins fundamentally traditional, as the demands of the Comuneros themselves suggested...[88]

I would like to add in passing that the conservative interpretation is, to my judgment, the one popularly held in Spain today. It is the version most likely to be found in popular history books and educational compendia-- although one reason for that is that the liberal revision of this interpretation is relatively new and has on the whole been limited to scholarly publications. A quick glance at recent tourist guidebooks (always a good indication of prevailing popular historical attitudes) would show a marked anti-Comunero bias. For example, the official guidebook to the Convent of Santa Clara in Tordesillas (published by the Spanish government) speaks of Tordesillas' involvement in the Comunidades as follows:

> The rebellion of the Comunidades came to take the Queen (Juana) out of this concentration in her sorrow. Here it would be decided if Spain was to continue her traditional policy in the Mediterranean and the new roads that were opened by the discovery of America or if she would just give up (entregarse)...[89]

With an audible sigh of relief, the author informs us that "Providence reserved for Spain a mission of glory and sorrow..."[90]

Examples of this type abound. Needless to say, the attitude of the present government in Madrid towards the revolutionary Castillians who rejected the embrace of Imperial absolutism has been none too favorable. Government publications, which generally reek of "Eternal Spain" rhetoric, do not neglect to whole heartedly endorse the conservative interpretation of the Comunero movement. Yet significantly enough, the names of Padilla, Bravo, and Maldonado, which had been placed upon the walls of the Cortes by the nineteenth century liberal parliamentarians, were removed by the Nationalists shortly after they entered Madrid in 1939.[91]

IV. LIBERAL REVISIONISM

Comprehensive and well-documented refutation of the conservative interpretation of the Comunidades did not appear until the year 1963. Yet as early as 1930 some independent judgments had been asserted in the face of the widespread acceptance of the conservative thesis. Several writers-- all political liberals-- chose to dispute the characterization of the Comuneros as bigoted reactionaries, thus reaffirming, albeit with much greater historical integrity, the liberal vision of the nineteenth century.

The first writer to challenge the claims of the conservative historians was none other than Manuel Azaña, Prime Minister and later President of the Second Republic. His "El Idearium de Ganivet" (written 1921-30, published Madrid 1930)[92] was a major attack upon Ganivet's presentation of Castillian history. Sr. Azaña offers a point-by-point refutation of the Idearium, and dwells especially upon Ganivet's remarks concerning the Comuneros. He begins his criticism by accusing Ganivet of a "lack of information" and a "lack of reflection",[93] and also castigates his refusal to document his claims. To Azaña, the Comuneros were obviously not "liberals", but rather were "liberators":

> "Liberal" is not the same as "liberator". Liberals, when the political term and the doctrine that it represented had not been invented, they surely were not. They did want to be liberators. They wanted to liberate themselves from Caesarean despotism, from government by favorites, from the predominance of one class. They invoked their rights, set up institutions, asked guarantees leading to the governance of the nation by the productive middle classes.[94]

The author affirms that the enemies of the Comuneros, the grandes, were the feudal elements fighting for their own personal privileges:

> The nobility, opposed to the Comunidad, fought for their own class privileges. The great patrician families had, at least on this occasion, their interests linked with those of the crown.[95]

Azaña cites ample documentation linking the nobility with the royal cause, and notes that with few exceptions, the Comuneros were solidly middle-class.[96] Padilla and the other leaders were "captains who died at Villalar in defense of the third estate". He concludes by accusing Ganivet of a fin-de-siècle "bad humor" anti-liberalism,[97] and links the restoration of the Spanish Cortes during the Napoleonic wars to the revindication of the Spanish anti-absolutist tradition exemplified by the Comuneros.[98]

The next attack upon the conservative interpretation of the Comunidades appeared in José Larraz' The Epoch of Mercantilism in Castille 1500-1700 (Madrid 1943),[99] a short book considered by many to be the most important twentieth-century study of Spanish mercantilism. The principal theme of the work is the disastrous effect that the Habsburg succession had upon the economic development of Castille. Naturally it is to be expected that Sr. Larraz extends his sympathies towards the anti-Imperial Comuneros. In the introduction to the 1963 edition he notes in reference to the debates of the crucial 1593 Cortes that

> the reader submerged in the consideration of those folios, which so few scholars have bothered to consult, sees the Comuneros of Castille appear, eulogized by the liberals of the past century, despised by modern historians, who consider the Emperor Charles a higher step in the historical process, and who (the Comuneros) will probably be revalued sometime in the near future.[100]

Sr. Larraz' anti-Imperial sympathies are well-illustrated in his closing essay "The Policy that Castille should have followed from the point of view of the National Economy". The first point in his plan is the "subordination of con-

tinental policy to the exigencies of colonial policy and the progressive development of Spain... If only Charles had not worn the crown of the Spanish kingdoms!"[102]

A more comprehensive statement of the Comuneros' motives and goals was proposed by the French Marxist Noël Salomon in his "L'Envers du Siécle d'Or" (The Dark Side of the Golden Age, written in 1945, still inedited).[103] M. Salomon attributes the cause of Spain's sudden decline in the seventeenth-century to the lack of a powerful middle class. He sees the origin of this phenomenon in the class struggles of the later middle ages: the clash between the "city" and the "countryside" becomes especially violent at the end of the fifteenth century as the feudal classes adopt the "mask of the defense of orthodox Catholicism",[104] leading to the establishment of the class weapon par excellence, the Inquisition. The second stage of this antagonism between the nascent bourgeoise and the landed aristocracy is the revolution of the Comunidades:

> The revolt of the 'Comunidades', as with all the revolutionary movements of that epoch, is clothed in a new historical content among the forms and formulas inherited from the past. In appearance, the 'Comuneros' fought to safeguard the traditional privileges of the medieval municipality menaced by the concentration of power in the hands of the moanrcho-seigneurial State. In reality, they fought to secure for the bourgeoise of the Castillian towns the conditions for free historical development... The social composition of the Junta of the Comunidades is in itself quite significant: at the side of illustrious names, of priors of the Orders, of abbots of monasteries, or of powerful canons (who fought for reasons different from those of the middle class), one sees seated learned jurists, representative of the new class of 'letrados' and urban intellectuals, and also— an entirely new fact in Spanish history— representatives of manual trades: a worker of Valladolid, a weaver of Madrid, a carder of Ávila. Among the petitions of the Comuneros, there are notably demands for protection for Spanish textiles; these also express the economic peroccupations of certain "pre-manufacturer" elements of the wool cities like Segovia where the movement... would find part of its support from the converso families... The revolt of the Comunidades is not only the last protest of an urban tradition threatened by the new principles of unitary centralism: it is also, through old formulas and through past historical claims, the awakening of a certain modern liberty,

> necessary for the free development of the ecohomic activites of a Castillian middle class in the process of formation.[105]

It should be noted that in spite of Azaña's preoccupation with political details and Salomon's greater emphasis on economic analysis, both authors are in basic agreement in regard to the overall historical significance of the Comuneros. The old liberal interpretation, divested of its romantic rhetoric and supported now by documentary evidence in both the political and economic spheres, is revindicated in this general characterization of the Comunidades as a progressive and liberating movement in the context of sixteenth-century Castillian society.

1948 saw the publication of one of the most influential books ever written on Spanish history: La Realidad Histórica de España (The Historical Reality of Spain) by Américo Castro.[106] In the chapter "Towards a Better Social Order", Castro identifies both the Comuneros and the heterodox Erasmians as exemplifying the rejection of the Old Christian totalitarian life style based on caste division.[107] This conflict between the "open" and "closed" visions of society constituted the overall "crisis of the sixteenth century"; following the defeat of the "open society" alternative, civil liberties were greatly restricted in Castille.[108] Indeed, Castro notes the close connections between these two movements— for example, many of the Erasmian intellectuals at the University of Alcalá and the Colegio de San Ildefonso were active Comuneros. The Comunidades, "chaotic in regard to the formulation of its goals",[109] failed due to the Comuneros' disorganization and lack of political experience.

This position represents a substantial point of departure from Castro's earlier assessment of the Comunero movement. Jean Sarrailh, in his introduction to Martínez' La Viuda de Padilla notes that

> in a brilliant lecture given at the International University of Santander, Américo Castro expounded a new interpretation of the war of the Comunidades, which should not be interpreted as a movement parallel to the liberalism of the Cortes of Cadiz, and in which there rose up against the broad and modern politic of the Emperor particularist interests of various social classes.[110]

Also, in the article "Intento de rebelión social durante el siglo XVI" (Attempts at social rebellion during the sixteenth century, La Nación, Buenos Aires, 1935), Castro states that the Comunidades represented a "revolt", not a "revolution".[111] Yet both in the Realidad Histórica and the later La Contienda Literaria de La Celestina (The Literary Debate on La Celestina, Madrid 1965) he expounds the view that the question of the Comunidades cannot be understood without reference to the "converso" problem: "if one speaks of the 'Castillian bourgeoise', then one must say how this class was formed and what was its outcome".[112] Although he admits that the reasons for the Comunero uprising were complex and varied, he states that

> if we combine the 'intercaste' situation with the tradition of political instability (interrupted by the Catholic Kings)... the explosion of the Comuneros can be perfectly understood.[113]

Castro's interpretation has enjoyed wide circulation, and has served as the point of departure, as we shall see, for various other interpreters of the Comunidades.

The late 1950's and early 1960's saw a general reorientation in Hispanic historiography, largely thanks to the efforts of the late Jaime Vicens Vives and his group of students at Barcelona. The "liberal" reassessment of the Comuneros slowly began to appear in opposition to the established conservative interpretation. Vicens Vives himself contributed to this revaluation by remarking

in 1952 that Castille, "in order to fulfill her mission... pruned any noble elements that burgeoned in her midst— the bourgeois ideal in the war of the Comunidades, the offshoots of the Humanism of Erasmus and of the Renaissance-- in her tenacious struggle to maintain orthodoxy". Also, in 1961 Sr. Vicens[114] stated that

> Although an essayist as liberal as Dr. Marañón has attempted to justify the triumph of Caesar in the replacement (superación) of medieval localism (comarcalismo) by Carolingian ecumenism, we can immediately observe that this is an intellectual appreciation; what is certain is that the resistence opposed by Castille against leaving herself enchained in a truly Imperial European policy— which did not take into account her particularist exigencies.[115]

Other works also began to question the conservative interpretation as represented by Dr. Marañón. Don Enrique Tierno Galván asked in 1961

> Was it a war of ideologies or a war of classes? Did it spring up all of a sudden or was it a result of an inquietude that developed over the years? What was the economic, social, and psychological basis of the conflict?[116]

Similar remarks were voiced by Giménez Fernández and Pierre Chaunu.[117]

The first major works of revision appeared in 1963. They were: Joseph Pérez' article "Pour une Nouvelle Interpretation des 'Comunidades' de Castille" (Towards a New Interpretation of the Comunidades of Castille, in Bulletin Hispanique, 1963) and José Antonio Maravall's Las Comunidades de Castilla: La Primera Revolucion Moderna (The Comunidades of Castille: The First Modern Revolution, Madrid 1963).

Pérez' article can be divided into two major sections. The first half provides a bibliography of the major works dealing with the Comuneros written during the years 1800-1963, and the second half is concerned with the future

direction of Comunero research. This latter part serves as the basis for his later study of the Comuneros, published in 1970. In this section, "Pour une nouvelle etude du mouvement 'Comunero'", Perez considers in passing three major problems of Comunero interpretation: the linguistic significance of the term 'Comunidad', the sociological composition of the Comuneros, and the problem of the participation of the clergy and the conversos in the uprising. The author provides merely tentative answers for each question and stresses the need for further investigation; yet, at least in regards to the second point, his sympathies lie with the revived "liberal" interpretation:

> If the archives confirm... the information furnished by the chroniclers, the movement of the Comuneros would be colored by a nuance of social revolt that has generally not been noticed until now.[118]

Maravall's work is the first full-length study to be devoted to the Comunidades since the appearance of Seaver's book in 1928. The author (a member of the Royal Academy of History) had already indicated his preference for the liberal revisionist interpretation in his Carlos V y el Pensamiento Político del Renacimiento (Madrid 1960) and in a lecture delivered in Paris in 1963.[119] His assessment finds its fullest exposition in the 1963 book. He immediately notes that in spite of its traditionalist aspects, the Comunidades was the "first revolution of a modern character in Spain and probably in Europe".[120] Maravall sees a clear, overriding political sense to the revolution; this, however, does not mean that the Comuneros had a unified and systematic ideology, as no broad-based social movement is characterized by such homogenaiety of thought and purpose.[121] The individual Comuneros, he admits, had different reasons for their recourse to violent action: attempts by the bourgeoise to

change their social position; the actions of conservative groups threatened by the promise of social reform; popular "revindicaciones", mystical and anarchic, typical of the late Middle Ages; personal resentments and family feuds, etc. What is not found is "protest of feudal elements with a rural basis".[122]

Maravall attacks the conservative interpretation by noting that in order to consider the Comuneros to be feudal reactionaries one must refute the following propositions: first, that representative government by the municipalities was a progressive, not retrogressive force in the sixteenth century; secondly, that Charles' conception of Empire and Imperial administration was not modern; thirdly, that the privileges the Comuneros sought were not traditional feudal ones; and finally, the aim of participation in government is a modern and not "feudal" phenomenon. The author presents an eloquent and extremely well-documented defense of each of these points, and concludes by stating that

> although the enterprise failed, one must credit the Comuneros with an important part in the history of democratic liberty in Spain.[123]

The studies of 1963 contributed greatly to the acceptance of the revindicated "liberal" interpretation of the Comuneros. Two essays in the Collected Studies in Honour of Americo Castro's 80th Year, ed. M.P. Hornik (Oxford 1965) propagated the view of the Comunidades as a progressive, "modern" social movement. Stephem Gilman, in the essay entitled "The Conversos and the Fall of Fortune" (pp. 127-36) cites Castro's estimation of the Comunidades as "at least in part a disguised converso revolt".[124] Márquez Villanueva, who had briefly mentioned the Comuneros in his earlier study on Álvarez Gato, characterizes them as "the only case where an efficient alliance of the converso element towards

a program of political and social action could be observed and this movement came to nothing because its mean and ends were so nebulous and ill-defined".[125] He adds that

> Had this movement triumphed, it would have brought about, in fact, the first bourgeois revolution of modern times, with Padilla in the place of Cromwell. The result of the defeat meant that from now onwards a Spanish bourgeoise could not come into existence. Commerce, technics, administration, thought became more or less shameful things, with the stigma of Judaism, of impure blood, weighed down by the suspicion about faith and political conduct. Spanish language at its most creative height did not produce a term for the concept of bourgeoise and the reason for it is clear, for this group did not exist.[126]

We can now see that the liberal interpretation has gone full circle since Robertson's comparison of the Comunidades with the Glorious Revolution.[127]

Another specialized study showing the influence of the reinstated liberal conception of the Comunero movement was the article "The Economic Factors in the Uprising of the Comunidades of Castille: The Castillian Wool Textile Industry" by Emilio González López (Revista Histórica Moderna, 31, 1965, pp. 185-91).[128] The author has eschewed the traditional strictly "political" interpretation in order to examine the economic causes of the revolution. González López concludes by noting the disastrous effects of Charles' Imperial policy on the economic development of Castille:

> The policy of Charles represented a clear contrast with that of his predecessors, who had made an effort, with considerable success, to protect and encourage the native industries, prohibiting the import of articles produced abroad. And if it is possible to attribute a commercial policy to the Emperor... it would be that of stimulating the importation of foreign articles, provided that they pay customs duties. It is impossible to say if he did this with the purpose of obtaining more income through customs, or with the vaguer idea of uniting the diverse parts of his dispersed dominions by stimulating commerce between them.[129]

The latest, and to this date the most "definitive" statement of the liberal view of the Comuneros is the massive study by Joseph Pérez entitled La Révolution des "Comunidades" de Castille (Bordeaux, 1970, 690 pp). Pérez commences the work by noting that the "liberal" interpretation of the Comunidades is inherently more plausible than the "conservative" one, as the Comuneros were definitely not feudal reactionaries. Yet the liberal historians (especially Maravall) had for the most part ignored the economic content of the revolution.[130] The Comuneros did not represent a united front; rather, the middle class that comprised those social elements supporting the Comunidades was itself internally divided between the merchant wool-exporters of the North and the nascent industrialists of the Castillian meseta:

> Our hypothesis: the 'Comunidades' would appeal to opposing economic interests, the wool exporters and the great merchants against the industrialists, the center against the periphery...[131]

Pérez characterizes the Comuneros as

> members of the middle classes in arms against the nobility and royal power, but their motivations strike us as being very complex... It is not only the abuses of the Flemish administration that impels them to revolt, but the contradictions that the Castillian society nourishes and the disappearance of the Catholic Kings reveals: a political, economic, and social crisis that opposes the center to the periphery, the producers against the exporters, the middle classes against the aristocracy.[132]

The bulk of the work is devoted to background studies in Castillian political and economic development from the period of the Catholic Kings to 1520, and the elaboration of the principal thesis, the internal division of the Castillian bourgeoise during the critical years 1504-20. Pérez concludes by agreeing

with Maravall that the Comunidades indeed was a revolution, with the establishment of a national revolutionary council affirming itself as the "national will" as opposed to royal and aristocratic power. The Comunero uprising was no mere xenophobic reaction,[133] but rather grew from the crisis of the break-up of the socio-economic equilibrium established by the Catholic Kings. The ensuing dynastic crisis assured a lack of strong, uncontested royal authority to enforce this social stasis, which led to the development of factions beyond the control of Ferdinand and Cisneros. The situation on the eve of the revolution saw nobles attempting to regain political power, the bourgeoise divided and fighting among themselves, and the economic interests of the center resenting the dominance of the periphery in both the north and the south. In Pérez words,

> After several months of hesitation, the revolution took on its definitive physionomy: geographically, it opposed the center to the periphery; socially, it grouped together the industrial bourgeoise, where it existed (e.g. Segovia), with the artisans, shopkeepers, workers, petty wageearners, the 'letrados'...; politically, in sum, the Comunidades menaced acquired privileges, within the municipalities, by the urban patriciate, elaborating and putting into practice a constitution that narrowly limited royal power.[134]

Pérez is thus in strong agreement with Maravall: the Comuneros were modern revolutionaries, perhaps even the first. Yet they were too weak to triumph, and their defeat led to the bleeding of Castille in support of European adventurism instead of furthering her own economic and political development.

> The liberal tradition is without doubt not mistaken in taking 1521 as the point of departure for the decadence. What was defeated at Villalar was not perhaps Castillian "liberties", that is, anachronistic freedoms; it was true political liberty and the possibility of imagining another destiny besides that Imperial Spain with its grandeurs and miseries, its 'hidalgos' and 'picaros'. That which was prepared under the Catholic Kings and Cisneros; an independent and modern nation, which Charles killed.[135]

III. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: A LIST OF PROMINENT CONVERSOS INVOLVED IN THE COMUNERO REVOLUTION

1. Pedro de Acuña (Toledo)- brother-in-law of Juan de Padilla, involved in the Gutiérrez transactions

2. Francisco de Alcázar (Seville)- rich merchant, involved in Papal negotiations prior to the Comunidades; during the uprising in Seville, he was instrumental in effecting a reconciliation between the rival Guzmán and Arcos houses

3. Francisco Álvarez de Toledo (Toledo)- brother of the noted secretary to the Catholic Kings, involved in Toledo Comunidad; excepted from the 1522 pardon, died in Valladolid in 1523. At one time Maestrescuela (Divinity Professor) of the Cathedral of Toledo.

4. Garcí Álvarez de Toledo (Toledo)- known as "el Rico", prominent merchant and close friend of Padilla; involved in Gutiérrez transactions

5. Avendaño (Segovia)- prominent converso family, contributed to the Comunidad there

6. Juan de Avía (Segovia)- converso Comunero

7. Diego de Cáceres (Segovia)- converso Comunero

8. Pedro Cazalla (Valladolid)- converso Comunero, tried by Inquisition in 1530

9. Diego de las Casas (Valladolid)- also known as the "Bachiller de Alcalá", a radical Comunero previously involved in the Papal negotiations

10. Pablo de Carasa (Toledo)- mayor-domo of the Padilla family, servant to Juan during the Comunidad

11. Coronel (Segovia)-principal converso family of central Castille, descendent from Abraham Seneor, Chief Rabbi of Castille until his conversion in 1492. The head of the family Iñigo López lead large sums of money to the Segovian Comunidad, headed by his son-in-law Juan Bravo. The philosopher Luis Coronel, attached to the Imperial court, was accused by Adrian of spying for the Comuneros. Numerous members of the family were implicated in the uprising.

12. Cuellar (Segovia)- another converso family of Segovia; its head, Alonso de Cuellar, was a wealthy merchant who contributed to the Comunidad there.

13. Alonso de Dueñas (Dueñas)- led the revolt there.

14. Pero Franco (Toledo)- a merchant and 'jurado' (magistrate), he was a close friend of Padilla's and was involved in the Gutierrez loans.

15. Gonzalo Gaitán (Toledo)- a 'regidor' (town councilman), he helped organize the 1519 petition to Charles

16. "El Bachiller de Guadalajara"(Segovia)- deputy to the Santa Junta and a prominent moderate leader

17. Alonso Gutiérrez de Madrid (court)- Royal Treasurer and 'veintecuatro' (town councillor)of Seville, he lent substantial sums of money to Juan de Padilla for the purpose of furthering Inquisitional reform. He was active in the negotiations with Leo X prior to the revolution. His wife was arrested and penanced by the Inquisition for judaizing in 1519, and he was subsequently investigated in 1531.

18. Heredia (Segovia)- converso family implicated in the uprising

19. de la Hoz (Segovia)- converso family implicated in the uprising

20. Dr. Francisco López Villalobos (court)- physician to Charles, prominent anti-Comunero converso.

21. Antonio de Nájera (Medina)- physician implicated in the uprising, fled to Portugal in 1521

22. Florián de Ocampo (Zamora)- prominent intellectual and secretary to Bishop Acuna

23. Diego and Francisco Peralta (Segovia)- conversos implicated in the uprising

24. Puñoenrostro (?)- royalist converso family, ennobled for their anti-Comunero activities

25. Alonso del Río (Segovia)- a 'licenciado' implicated in the uprising

26. Rojas (Toledo)- famous converso family, held important posts in Toledan municipal government. The famed author Fernando de Rojas came from this branch, but his activities during 1520-21 are unknown.

27. Alvar Pérez Rosales (Seville)- former royal councillor who left Spain and went to Fez to become a public Jew. On hearing of the revolution, he returned to Seville with his son and was immediately arrested by the Inquisition and burned at the stake in 1522.

28. Alonso de Saravía (Valladolid)- leader of the radical junta of Valladolid, was a deputy to the Santa Junta; after the failure of the revolution he was arrested and beheaded at Villalpando.

29. Diego de Sevilla (Seville)- converso merchant, one of the principal targets of the Comuneros of that city.

30. ? Solier (Segovia)- deputy to the Santa Junta, was executed following the failure of the revolution in 1522.

31. Gonzalo Suárez (Seville)- a 'ropero' (clothmerchant), involved in the Comunidad of that city

32. Pedro de Tovar (Valladolid)- prominent radical and Captain-General of the city; his brother Bernadino would be arrested during the Erasmian persecution of the early 1530's.

33. Valdivieso (Burgos)- converso family involved in the Comunidades, later switched to the royalist side (like fellow conversos Cartagenas and Maluendas)

34. Vozmediano (Segovia)- prominent royalists; Cervantes later married into this family

35. Zapata (Madrid)- principal converso family of Madrid. Juan Zapata was the military leader of the Comunidad there; Francisco was the Archdeacon of Madrid and author of an important anti-Inquisitional tract, was later excepted from the 1522 pardon.

36. Zapata (Toledo)- prominent converso family, closely related to the Zapatas of Madrid and the Álvarez family.

37. Francesillo de Zúñiga (court)-Charles' jester, he wrote a famous chronicle identifying many of the major personages of his day as New Christians.

NOTE: It is important to note that several members of the Royal Council (Concejo Real) were suspected to be of converso lineage. The royal chronicler Galíndez de Carvajal wrote a famous memorial on the backgrounds and ancestries of the Council members for Charles: for details, cf. Seaver pp. 43 ff.

APPENDIX B: INDEPENDENT JUDGMENTS

This appendix comprises, as the title indicates, a short catalogue of works that exhibit little or no judgment as to the ideological significance of the Comunidades. This lack of assessment can be attributed to several factos. In some cases the author is interested only in the presentation of facts or the editing of documents, and thus eschews all interpretation. Some writers, on the other hand, inidicate some possible avenues of evaluation, but suspend final judgment. Still others are those works which either provide conventional summaries of the Comunidades or deal with only a few specialized aspects or facets

of the problem.

I feel that little explanation is needed for the studies listed in this section, so I will proceed with short expositions in chronological order.

1. Fidel Fita, "Los Judaizantes Españoles en los cinco primeros años del Reinado de Carlos I", in the Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, Tomo XXXIII, Madrid, 1898 pp. 307-348.

Sr. Fita's work consists of the editing of certain depositions taken by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Toledo in 1531. The testimony concerns the attempt of the royal treasurer Alonso Gutiérrez de Madrid, a converso, to bribe Juan de Padilla to accept a substantial alteration in Inquisitional procedure. Padre Fita brings to light several similar projects by various powerful conversos in the years immediately following Ferdinand's death; they all have in common the goal of abolishing the secret methods of the Inquisition. Particularly active was a group of conversos petitioning the Pope to issue a bull forbidding secret witnesses; Fita reproduces Charles' message to the Pope counteracting this demand and rigorously defending Inquisitional procedure.

2. E.A. Armstrong, The Emperor Charles V (London, Macmillan) 1902. Vol. I, pp. 80-90.

His remarks on the Comuneros are brief and non-committal. Of interest are the pages relating the Comunidades and the Germanía of Valencia to the other revolts in the Empire at this time (Sicily, Germany, etc).

3. H.C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain (Macmillan, New York) 1907.

Lea is apparently unfamiliar with Fita's article, as he affirms in several passages that there was "no trace of the Inquisition in the Comunidades" and that "the Comuneros had no grievance against it" (vol. IV, pp. 221-2). However, his summary of the various converso attempts to alter Inquisitorial procedure in the years immediately prior to the Comunidades is very useful (vol. IV, pp. 214-20).

4. Rafael Altamira, A History of Spain (trans. Muna Lee, Nostrand, Princeton) 1955

Sr. Altamira considers the Comuneros to be "frankly revolutionary" in their attempt to resolve problems traditionally considered to be Crown prerogatives, yet is totally at a loss regarding the social and class structure of the revolution (pp. 346-7). However, he is somewhat sympathetic to the Comuneros, as he concludes that their defeat was "to the detriment of the country as a whole" (p.348).

5. Julius Klein, The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History 1273-1836 (Harvard Press, Cambridge) 1920

Mr. Klein's justly famous study of the Mesta is useful principally for the economic background of the revolution. He notes the general political tendency towards the strengthening of crown power and the corresponding destruction of town independence during this period, but labels the Comuneros "the forces of separatism and nationalism" (p. 104). Ironically enough, he tends to identify the Mesta with the Comuneros (as both were alienated by Charles' exorbitant fiscal demands), and considers the fact that the woolcarders of Segovia were the principal leaders in the mob actions there evidence that the Mesta was implicated in the uprising!

6. Marcel Bataillon, Érasme et L'Espagne (Librarie Droz, Paris) 1937

M. Bataillon's feelings about the Comuneros tend to be mixed. In his review of Seaver's book which appeared in the Revue d'Histoire Moderne , VI, 1931, p. 300, he criticizes Seaver for ignoring the economic reasons for the revolution:

> L'histoire d'une révolution peut-elle tenir dans l'exposé des grans faits politiques ou militaires? N'y faudrait-il pas le soutien d'une reconstitution, aussi complète que possible, des conditions économiques du moment?[1]

In the Erasmus study, he characterizes the Comuneros as typifying "l'esprit particulariste et xénophobe" (p.167). Yet they did represent "libertés castillanes" (p.169). Although he notes that several Erasmians were Comuneros (among the most prominent were "el Comemdador Griego", Pedro de Lerma, Florián de Ocampo, and Prexano), he is quick to note that some of the more violent anti-Erasmians of the 1530's had also been Comuneros. (Famous anti-Erasmians such as Fr. Juan de San Vicente and Fr. Bernardino de Flores had taken part in the Comunidades). Sandoval's testimony as to the high proportion of Mendicant monks involved in the uprising signifies for both Bataillon (and later Marañón) a reactionary religious spirit.

7. Cristina Arteaga La Casa del Infantado, Cabeza de los Mendoza, (Madrid 1940)

Sra. Arteaga quickly glosses over the involvement of the Infantados in the Comunidad of Guadalajara. In spite of such amusing remarks as "en cuanto al Duque del Infantado, era demasiado poderoso para ser un revolucionario" (Tomo I, p. 300), she gives some valuable information on the role of the Mendoza family in the suppression of the revolution.

8. Victor Higes,"Soria en la Epoca de la Comunidades", Estudios Sorianos, 1948, pp. 119-129.

This short article is an uninformative and at times confusing summary of the information gleaned from contemporary documents in the municipal archives of Soria. These archives are lamentably incomplete, and little by way of analysis has been gained from their study.

9. F. Cantera Burgos, Alvar García de Sta. María y su familia de conversos (Instituto Arias Montano, CSIC, Madrid) 1952

This work contains two footnotes relating to the Comunidades. The first states that the radical Valladolid Comunero Alonso de Sarabía was related to the Cartagena family[2] (the most prominent converso family in northern Castilla at the time). The other mentions that Pedro de Cartagena (d. 1525) was distinguished by his loyalty to Charles during the uprising in Burgos.[3] The latter is something of a misstatement, as Cartagena was at first one of the leaders of the Burgos Comunidad; later, as the town responded to the blandishments of the Condestable in November 1520, Cartagena rejoined the Royalist side.[4]

10. Luis Peñalosa, "Juan Bravo y la Familia Coronel", Estudios Segovianos, 1949, pp. 73-109.

One of the most important monographical studies of the Comunero uprising. Peñalosa has established the close connection between the old Christian Juan Bravo (leader of the Segovia Comunidad) and the famous converso family los Coronel. The article contains a wealth of information about the involvement of the converso community of Segovia in the Comunidad, and especially in

regard to the Coronel family.

11. Bohdan Chudoba, Spain and the Empire 1519-1643, (Univ. of Chicago Press), 1952
One of the more important themes of Sr. Chudoba's book is the essentially medieval nature of Charles' conception of empire, and as such represents a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the period. He sees the Comunidades as not only representing anti-Imperialism in the political sphere, but also a class war in economic terms (p. 19). However, the book is marred by numerous declarations of the "España Eterna" type; especially interesting is the paragraph

> In 1478, in connection with the repeated attacks and social and economic injustices committed upon Christians by conversos— Jews who, upon the reestablishment of Christian states behind the Pyrenees, had of their own accord, but only formally, embraced Christianity— Isabella, Queen of Castile, obtained the Pope's permission to renew the Inquisition in her territories. She and her consort, Ferdinand, King of Aragon, put this authorization in effect only after the ruthless Moslem attack on the Italian city of Otranto, in August 1480, when more than half the city's population, about twenty-five thousand men and women, had been killed as a result of the treason of the conversos.[5]

12. Jaime Vicens Vives, ed. Historia Social y Económica de España y América (Editorial Teide, Barcelona) 1957, Tomo III, section by Juan Regla
The only reference to the Comuneros notes their "traditionalist", anti-Caesarian temper. (p.99).

13. Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos (University of Pittsburg Press) 1958
As Cobos was in the Imperial entourage during the entire affair, very little attention is devoted to the Comuneros. Pages 60ff describes Cobos' behind-the-scenes axemanship at the Santiago Cortes (for which he received a substantial bribe). Of interest is the fact that one of Burgos' demands during the Comunidades was the arrest and prosecution of Cobos along with the other Flemish advisors and their Spanish supporters. Keniston also notes that 2000 ducats of Cobos' property was destroyed during the Valladolid riots (p.66). Nonetheless, it was Cobos who drew up the pardons (and exclusions list?) in 1522 (pp.78-79).

14. The New Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge) 1958, vol. II The Reformation, section "The Empire of Charles V in Europe" by H. Koenigsberger, pp. 318-20 (deal with Comuneros)
The two pages dealing with the Comunero uprising consist of a conventional repetition of the chronology of events; the author notes in concluding that the nobles, once the alliance with the crown had been made and the Comuneros destroyed, were unable to free themselves from this bond, thus further assuring the absolutism of the Habsburgs (p. 320).

15. F. Arribas Arranz, "Repercusiones Económicas de las Comunidades de Castilla", Hispania, Madrid, 1955, pp. 505-546
The article is a lengthy collection of documents detailing the process of indemnization by the "guilty" Comunero towns to municipalities and individuals who had had their property destroyed during the uprising. Little analysis is

given, but one suspects that the heavy fines imposed on these cities during the 1520's and 1530's helped to depress to an even greater degree economic conditions in Castilla la Nueva.

16. J. Longhurst, "The Alumbrados of Toledo: Juan del Castillo and the Lucenas" in Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, vol. 45, 1954, 2 heft, pp. 233-252.
This article treats the development of Erasmian thought in Castilla during the 1520's. Several conversos and Erasmists who took part in the Comuneros are mentioned: Luís Núñez Coronel (p.237), the Cazalla family (p.247), the Tovar family (p.237), et alia. Also very interesting is the Admiral's sponsorship of an Erasmian apostolate in 1525 (pp. 238-39).

17. Albert Sicroff, Les Controverses des Statuts de 'Pureté de Sang' en Espagne du XV^{e} au XVII^{e} Siècle (Didier, Paris) 1960
There is only one reference to the Comuneros; on p. 111 Sicroff quotes Siliceo's remarks accusing the conversos of having fomented the Comunero movement. This remark has traditionally been held to be one of the principal sources for the involvement of the conversos in the revolution. Sicroff subtly notes that Siliceo was arguing before the Emperor when he made this remark, which may have well been a shrewd diplomatic ploy, given Charles' lifelong adversion to the Comuneros.

18. J. Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea (Arion, Madrid) 1961 Vol. II
Caro makes only two references to the Comuneros. First he quotes (pp. 16-17) Pedro Cazalla's remarks concerning Charles and the Comunidades (also cited in Bataillon, p. 195). Secondly, he notes the high participation of the conversos in the Comunidades (p. 17, n. 28), and recounts the Gutiérrez de Madrid affair (p.17).

19. Claudio Guillén, "Un Padrón de Conversos Sevillanos", Bulletin Hispanique, (Paris), Tome LXV, 1963, pp. 49-98
On pp. 65-72, Guillén addresses the problem of the relation of the Comuneros of Sevilla to the converso community there. The close identification between the Comuneros and conversos in the north of Castilla is not repeated in the south, where the unsuccessful Comunidad comprised a group of Old Christians motivated by seigneurial rivalry to attack the converso community under the protection of the Duque de Medina Sidonia. On page 71 Guillen gives a valuable list of Sevillan conversos and their professions.

20. John Lynch, Spain under the Habsburgs (New York) 1964, Vol. I (1516-1598)
Lynch' two-volume study is one of the more important "synthesis" histories of the early 1960's. Chapter Two is dedicated to the early years of Charles' reign, and includes a short but detailed description of the Comunidades. While Lynch notes that the defeat at Villalar signified another "victory for absolutism" (p. 42), he makes the traditional distinction between the Germanía as a "social" movement and the Comunidades as a "political" movement.

21. G.R. Elton, Reformation Europe 1517-1559 (Meridian Books, New York) 1964
This work includes a short section on the Comuneros (pp. 44-45), containing nothing new. The author has naturally availed himself of modern scholarship on Charles' rule; on p. 37 he characterizes Charles as the "last of the medieval rulers" and on p. 45 notes that the Castilian municipal subservience of the sixteenth-century was based ultimately on the crown-Church-hidalgo alliance.

22. Henry Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition (New American Library, New York) 1965
The chapter entitled "A Minority Opposition" (pp. 57-73) provides a healthy corrective to Lea's earlier conclusions on the relation of the Comuneros to the Inquisition. On pp. 71-73 the author notes in detail converso involvement in the Comunidades, and adds that the Compromise of Sisla for the pacification of Toledo (October, 1521) conatined a clause stipulating that Inquisitional officials were not to be paid out of confiscations (one of the bitterest converso complaints against the Inquisition). Kamen concludes on p. 72 that

> By the end of the reign of Charles V, the tribunal was invulnerable. This is hardly surprising once we consider that no firm opposition to it was ever brought into play. In nearly all cases it is possible to discover not mass opposition, but spasmodic attempts by religious and racial minorities, or by certain social classes, to hinder and disarm a tribunal whose interests were directly antagonistic to their own. This lack of profound opposition, together with the ready support of the Old Christian nobility and the lower classes in general, guaranteed the triumph of the Inquisition. The military victory of the forces of Charles V over the Comuneros at Villalar in 1521 provided the necessary political security which, involving as it did a relative decline in the power of the Cortes, muted the principal platform of discontent.

23. J.I. Gutiérrez Nieto "Los conversos y el movemiento comunero", in Collected Studies in Honour of Americo Castro's 80th Year, ed. M.P. Hornik (Oxford) 1965, pp. 199-220.
Sr. G. Nieto's article is an attempt at summarizing the role of the conversos in the Comunidades. The first half of the article is a recompilation of the various contemporary references to converso Comuneros; the second half deals with the tricky question the conversos' motives in joining the revolution. He states that the attempted reform of the Inquisition was a powerful incentive for converso participation, but adds that there were other reasons as well:

> no creemos que sólo... el problema del Santo Oficio lanzara a los conversos a participar en el Movemiento, sino también por su situación dentro del conjunto social castellano... es lógico que alzaran su voz con un Movemiento que, aunque con ramificaciones campesinas, era esencialmente urbano... las Comunidades encarnaron principalmente aspiraciones económicas burguesas frente a las de la aristocracia territorial y ganadera...

24. A. Domínguez Ortíz, "Historical Research on Spanish Conversos in the last 15 Years", in Studies for A. Castro, ed. Hornik, pp. 63-82.
On pp. 71-72 Sr. Domínguez Ortíz approvingly cites both Maravall and Gutierrez Nieto on the question of converso participation and concludes that

> the problem is not yet settled: all we can say at this moment is that many citizens of Jewish descent took part in the movement hoping to improve their social standing but that they did not succeed in forming a definite program with a clear and consequent delineation of their grievances and aspirations; they were, after all, a minority between the nobility and the masses, the great majority of which were Old Christians.

25. R. Menéndez Pidal, ed. Historia de España (Espasa-Calpe, Madrid) 1966
Tomo 18, "La España del Emperador Carlos V" by M. Fernandez Álvarez

Sr. Fernández Álvarez' intelligent and concise summary of the Comunidades contains judgments of a somewhat "liberal" nature. He begins by citing Menéndez Pidal's assessment of the Comuneros as a "reacción nacional" representing a bourgeois desire for social change (p. 159). He also approves of Marañón's evaluation of the Comuneros as representing Castilian particularism versus Imperial universalism. Yet he affirms that the adjectives "feudal" and "xenophobic" are not too apt; the Comuneros wanted a "regimen representativo". The defeat of Villalar signified the end of an independent Cortes and the triumph of a royal absolutism sacrificing Castilla to a "política internacional".[8]

26. Earl J. Hamilton, "Spanish Mercantilism before 1700" in Facts and Factors in Economic History (Festschrift for E.F. Gay, New York) 1967 pp. 214-39

The only direct reference to the uprising is a note on page 218 mentioning that one of the Comunero demands was the prohibition of specie exportation (also mentioned in Larraz, p. 147).

27. Ruth Pike, "The Converso Family of Baltasar del Alcázar", Kentucky Romance Quarterly, no. 14, 1967 pp. 355-6

Ms. Pike's article deals with the powerful Alcázar family of Sevillan conversos in the sixteenth century. She notes that

> The business transactions of Francisco del Alcázar and his converso associates were among the basic causes for the uprising of Juan de Figueroa in Seville during the revolt of the Comuneros, 1520-21. The objective of Figueroa and his fellow conspirators (the younger sons of several families allied to the Ponces) was the destroy the economic power of the conversos and to oust them from the city government. The anti-converso forces ultimately failed because of the armed intervention of the Duke of Medina Sidonia who rallied most of the Sevillian nobility to his side.

28. Erica Spivakovsky, The Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, (University of Texas) 1970

This biography of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza has little direct commentary upon the Comuneros, as nothing is known of the whereabouts of the hero during the years 1520-21. Ms. Spivakovsky judges it highly unlikely that he took part in the Comunidades. Yet it is important to remember that the freethinking Mendoza's sister was Doña María Pacheco, the wife of Juan de Padilla. Doña María was one of the most extraordinary women of the Spanish Renaissance, a humanist scholar trained in the liberal and tolerant atmosphere of Granada. Unfortunately, she still awaits her biographer.

29. A. Domínguez Ortiz, Los Judeoconversos en España y America (Alianza Editorial, Madrid) 1971

Once again Sr. Domínguez Ortiz considers the question of converso involvement in the Comunidades. While he readily concedes the heavy participation of conversos in the movement (pp.53-54), he states that

> Lo único que podemos afirmar en el estado actual de la investigación es que habiendo sido las Comunidades un movemiento de

> carácter heterogéneo, en él que intervinieron aspiraciones, agravios y resentimientos de muy diverso signo, sería demasiado simplista atribuirle un sólo origen. Por su carácter preferentemente urbano, la burguesía conversa tenia que encontrarse implicada en él, pero es muy probable que de haber triunfado se hubieran llevado una gran desilusión, ~~poque~~ porque la masa de la poblacion no comulgaba con sus ideales. Es muy adventurado afirmar que un eventual triunfo de los Comuneros hubiera traido como consecuencia la supresion o reforma de la Inquisicion; ni siquiera de los estatutos de limpieza de sangre que entonces empezaban a brotar.[9]

He admits favoring Pérez' assessment that

> Las Comunidades fueron un movemiento principalmente urbano, por lo tanto es lógico que muchos conversos tomaran parte en ella, pero no como tales conversos, sino como ciudadanos... El debate, como se ve, continúa abierto.[10]

30. Stanley Payne, A History of Spain and Portugal (University of Wisconsin Press), 1973 vol. I

Mr. Payne is the only recent "synthesis" historian who has been able to consult all the recent Comunero research, including Pérez' 1970 study. (In his bibliography he notes that "Long controversy over the revolt of the Castilian Comunidades has been largely resolved by the brilliant and exhaustive study of Joseph Pérez...", p.342). His conclusion is a moderate restatement of Pérez and Maravall; he feels that in general "the Comuneros had no specific national or constitutional goals, but did want more explicit recognition and development of earlier rights that were no longer being observed! The Comuneros, "groping towards a vague concept of institutionalized representative government", represented the "last gasp of what had remained of the medieval system of local autonomy and municipal representation" (p.181).

This is essentially the same position that Mr. Payne took in his earlier work The Spanish Revolution (Norton, New York) 1970 where he noted (p. 3) that "an uncertain attempt was made to implant representative semiparliamentary government through the Comunero revolt of 1519-20."

APPENDIX C: "ODA A JUAN DE PADILLA" BY M. JOSÉ QUINTANA

¡Perdona, madre España! La flaqueza
de tus cobardes hijos pudo sola
asi enlutar tu sin igual belleza!
¿Quién fué de ellos jamás? ¡Ah! vanamente
discurre mi deseo
por tus fastos sangrientos y el contino
revolver de los tiempos; vanamente
busco honor y virtud; fué tu destino
dar nacimiento un dia
a un odioso tropel de hombres feroces
colosos para el mal; todos te hollaron,
todos ajaron tu feliz decoro;
¡Y sus nombres aun viven! Y su frente
pudo oriar impudente
la vil posteridad con lauros de oro!

¡Y uno solo! Uno solo!... Oh, de Padilla
Indignamente ajado,
nombre inmortal! Oh gloria de Castilla!
Mi espíritu agitado,
buscando alta virtud, renueva ahora
tu memoria infeliz. Sombra sublime,
rompe el silencio con tu eterna tumba,
rompele, y torna a defender tu España,
que atada, opresa, envilecida, gime.
Si, tus virtudes solas,
solo tu ardor intérpido podría
volvernos al valor, y sacudido
por ti solo sería
nuestro torpe letargo y ciego olvido.

Tú el único ya fuiste
que oso arrostrar con generoso pecho
al huracan deshecho
del despotismo en nuestra playa triste,
abortóle la mar mas espantoso
que los monstruos que encierra en su hondo seno,
Y él, respirando su infernal veneno,
entre ignorancia universal marchaba,
destruyendo sus piés cuando corrieron.
¿De qué pues nos valieron
siete siglos de afan y nuestra sangre
a torrentes verter? Lanzado en vano
Fué de Castilla el árabe inclemente,
Si otro opresor más pérfido y tirano
prepara el yugo á su infelice frente.

...

"Estremeceos, á la ignominia hoy dados,
mañana al polvo, ¿no mirais cuál brama,
con cuál furor se inflama
la tierra en torno á sacudir del cuello
la servidumbre? ¿Y se verá que, hundidos
en ocio infame y miserable sueño,
al generoso empeño
los últimos voleis? No; que en violenta
rabia inflamado y devorante sana
ruja el leon de España,
y corra en sangre a sepultar su afrenta.
La espada centellante arda en su mano,
y al verle, sobre el trono,
palido tiemble el presor tirano.
Virtud, patria, valor; tal fue el sendero
que yo os abrí primero;
Vedle, holladle, volad; mi nombre os guíe,
mi nombre vengador, a la pelea:
Padilla el grito de las huestas sea,
Padilla aclame la feliz victoria,
Padilla os dé la libertad, la gloria.

May 1797

from the Obras Completas del D. Manuel José Quintana,
BAE, vol. 19, Madrid, 1898

IV. NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTES

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COMUNIDADES

1. For further reading on the years 1504-1525, cf. R. Trevor-Davies, The Golden Century of Spain pp. 1-57; J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain pp. 128-161; and John Lynch, Spain under the Habsburgs, vol. I, chaps. 1 and 2.
2. Cisneros had died shortly after his arrival in 1517.
3. Charles never adopted a fixed capital: his usual residences in Spain were Valladolid, Madrid, Toledo, Seville, and Granada.
4. Elliott (p. 143) cites a contemporary copla: "Doblón de a dos, norabuena estedes/ pues con vos no topó Xevres."
5. Juana was held in close confinement in a palace (now destroyed) in Tordesillas.
6. In the sixteenth century the term "comunidad" had a number of connotations. On the one hand, "hacer comunidad" meant to establish a "comuna", or commune, as the medieval French "communauté" declined to "commune". "Comunidad" also meant the "commons" in the classical English usage: "la parte de la población urbana que forma el grupo de los no distinguidos". Also, the term was used to indicate the form of government commonly associated with the northern Italian cities: "aquella forma que asume una ciudad cuando se organiza con un gobierno autónomo, basado en los ciudadanos, en el común". For a lengthy discussion of the various significances of this word, cf. J.A. Maravall, Las Comunidades de Castilla (henceforth: MARAVALL), pp. 85-87.

THE NEW CHRISTIANS AND THE COMUNEROS

1. I consciously utilize the term "class" to describe the heterogeneous social grouping known as the "conversos" in spite of D. Américo Castro's predilection for the term "caste". Sr. Castro argues that "caste" more appropriately describes the conversos because, first, the Castillian society of the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries lacked the sufficient structural differentiation that would enable one to acknowledge the existence of "classes" in the modern sense, and secondly, that the tremendous importance attached by contemporaries to "blood purity" (limpieza de sangre) makes racial origins-- i.e. "caste"-- a criterion of overwhelming importance. While I wholeheartedly agree with this latter assertion, I have serious doubts about the validity of the first assumption. In the course of this essay I shall attempt to examine the role played by the conversos in the structure of Castillian society during this critical epoch; one of my preliminary conclusions is that it is possible not only to speak of "aristocracy", "bourgeoise" and "peasant-proletarian" in the fifteenth century, but that the bourgeoise itself was characterized by a most significant economic specialization. I choose to utilize the word "class" not only to emphacize this point but also as a corrective to Sr. Castro's blissful disregard of serious economic history.
2. Cf. Vicens, Approaches to the History of Spain (U. of Calif. Press) 1970, p. 11.
3. Cf. Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea (Madrid, Arion) 1961 (henceforth: CARO), vol. I, p. 24.
4. Roth, A History of the Marranos (Philadelphia) 1932 p. 7. It should be noted that Spain was not unique in this respect: Gregory of Tours stated that Chilperic also carried out a policy of forced conversions. Cf. Caro, vol. I, p. 35.
5. Caro, vol. I, pp. 35-36.
6. Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, Los Judeoconversos en España y America (Alianza Editorial, Madrid) 1971 (henceforth:DO), p. 14.
7. Cf. Bargebuhr, The Alhambra (W. Gruyter, Berlin) 1968 pp. 145-49
8. Most recently by Gabriel Jackson in his The Making of Medieval Spain (Harcourt-Brace, Norwich) 1972 pp. 81-115
9. Cf. Caro, vol. I, p. 86.
10. Cited in H. Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition (Mentor, New York) 1965 (henceforth: KAMEN) p. 25. His translation.
11. Cited in Caro, vol. I, p. 72.
12. Cf. DO, p. 14. "Mientras caían persecuciones, destierros y matanzas sobre los judíos en la mayor parte de Europa, en España vivían respetados y considerados, protegidos de reyes y magnates, en buenas relaciones incluso con la Iglesia..."
13. Hence Castro's judgment that the year 1369 was a watershed event in the social and economic history of Spain. Cf. also Vicens, Approaches (op cit) pp. 70-72 and Vicens, An Economic History of Spain (Princeton) 1969 (henceforth: VICENS, ECON) p. 269.
14. Cf. Kamen, p. 23.
15. ibid, p. 23.
16, Cf. DO, p. 17.
17. Kamen, pp. 23-24. For a judicial assessment of the scope and effects of the massacres of 1391, cf. also "The 1391 Pogrom in Spain: Social Crisis or not?"

by Phillippe Wolff, in Past and Present, no. 50, Feb. 1971, pp. 4-18.
18. For a detailed study of this all-important phenomenon, cf. Márquez Villanueva, "Conversos y Cargos Concejiles en el Siglo XV" in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos vol. 68, 1957 pp. 503-540.
19. A. Castro's Aspectos del vivir hispánico (Alianza Editorial, Madrid) 1970 provides some interesting perspectives on this problem. Cf. also Haim Beinart, "The Judaizing Movement in the Order of San Jeronimo in Castile", Scripta Hierosolymitana, VII, 1961 pp. 167-192, and A.A. Sicroff, "The Jeronymite Monastery of Guadalupe in 14th and 15th century Spain" in Hornik, ed. Collected Studies for Americo Castro (Oxford 1965) pp. 397-422.
20. Cf. the introduction to B. Netanyahu, The Marranos of Spain (Philadelphia-New York, Academy for Jewish Research) 1966 pp. 1-4.
21. Cf. DO, p. 18. "Fué la parte más elevada de la Comunidad judía la que mostró menos repugnancia al abandono de la antigua fe; esta porción más culta y rica era también, en muchos sentidos, la más inmoral, la más corrumpida, y la menos creyente". For the philosophical and religious background of this problem, cf. S. Shepard's "The Background of Uriel da Costa's Heresy— Marranism, Scepticism, Karaism" in Judaism, vol. 20, 1971, pp. 341-50.
22. It should be noted that when I use the terms "nobility" or "aristocracy" to denote the organization of society characteristic of the "feudal" mode of production, I am obviously not necessarily referring to the petit noblesse, the "hidalgos", who were for the most part urban and "de mediano estado"— that is, economically identified with the middle class. On the role of the hidalgos, cf. Maravall, Las Comunidades de Castilla (Madrid 1963) pp. 218-21.
23. Especially Nöel Salomon, cited in J. Pérez "Pour une nouvelle interpretation des 'Comunidades' de Castille" in Bulletin Hispanique, vol. 45, 1963, (henceforth: PÉREZ, BH) pp. 261-65. Cf. also DO, p. 24.
24. With certain reservations, of course. We should not expect to find the rural elements neatly arranged in battle array against the city; as I incate on the following page, the true battle with be fought within the cities themselves. "Campo vs. ciudad" is a figurative term used to denote the feudal vs. modern production modes.
25. A notable example is Villena's stirring up of the populace of Segovia against the conversos and Isabel. Cf. Peñalosa, "Juan Bravo y la familia Coronel" in Estudios Segovianos, I, 1949 p. 74. Cf. also DO, p. 19.
26. Cf. Márquez Villanueva, Alvarez Gato (Madrid 1960) pp. 75 ff.
27. Kamen, p. 36.
28. Cf. Kamen, "Confiscations in the Economy of the Inquisition", Economic History Review, vol. 18, 1965, pp. 511-25.
29. As Perez puts it, "la noblesse, exclue de la politique active, mais rassuree sur ses interêts essentiels..." (La Révolution des 'Comunidades' de Castille, Bordeaux 1970, p. 67; henceforth, PEREZ, REV). For the best general summary of the economic and social policies of the Catholic Kings, cf. Elliott, Imperial Spain (Mentor, New York) 1963, pp. 109-111.
30. That the activities of the Inquisition redounded to the benefit of the upper estates in the long run is beyond question; yet it must be admitted that proving that the nobility actively supported its introduction is an entirely different matter. The principal weakness of Kamen's thesis is his largely undocumented (how could one document it?) assumption that consequence equals cause (i.e. since the Inquisition benefitted the monarchy and the aristocracy it may be taken for granted that both bodies were its enthusiastic sponsors.) After

having noted various heterodox tendencies among important segments of the Castillian nobility during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I am inclined to place the blame for the introduction of the Inquisition squarely upon the shoulders of the monarchy and various isolated elements among the three estates, especially the clergy. Of course, after the Inquisition was successfully established and adopted as official Crown policy, attacks upon its authority could come only from the victimized bourgeoisie. For an intelligent statement of this problem, cf. H. Trevor-Roper's review of Kamen's book in New Statesman, 21 Jan. 1966, p. 89.

One further comment: an unadulterated cynic might possibly point out the probable existence of heterodoxy within the supposedly uncorruptible monarchy itself. The Habsburg Rudolf II is a case in point, and it appears that even a pillar of orthodoxy such as the "demonio del mediodía" Philip II may have dabbled in some forbidden arts. This fascinating suggestion is developed to some extent in René Taylor's "Architecture and Magic: Considerations on the Idea of the Escorial" in Essays presented to Rudolf Wittkower (Phaidon, London) 1967 pp. 81-109. (I am indebted to my friend Alan Plattus for bringing this essay to my attention). Needless to say, all this raises some questions about the purpose and function of the Inquisition in "Counterreformation societies"!

31. I find myself in some disagreement with Pérez on this point, as I feel that his tendency to regard the reign of the Catholic Kings as a positive period rests upon a too-exclusive preoccupation with their fabled "industrial mercantilism", as well as an overly generous assessment of Cisnero's motives in establishing the "Gentes de Ordenanza". Pérez correctly cites the crying need for monographical studies of the Castillian economy for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; the years 1504-25 in particular have yet to be adequately dealt with.

For an excellent summary of the reign of the Catholic Kings, cf. Márquez "The Converso Problem: an Assessment", in Hornik, ed. Studies for Americo Castro (Oxford 1965) pp. 317-34. Also to be consulted are: Kamen, pp. 11-21; Netanyahu, pp. 1-4; Vicens Approaches, pp. 76-95.

32. Cf. Kamen, pp. 44-46 and 51-54.

33. For the role of the Inquisition in the expulsion of the Jews, Cf. Sanford Shepard, "The Present State of Ritual Crime in Spain", Judaism, Winter 1968, pp. 68-78.

34. Kamen, pp. 47-48.

35. ibid, p. 63.

36. ibid, p. 67.

37. ibid, pp. 68-69.

38. Published in F. Fita, "Los Judaizantes Españoles en los cinco primeros años del reinado de Carlos I" in the Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, vol. 33, 1898 pp. 330-345.

39. ibid, pp. 330-344. I have been unable to determine the relation, if any, of Diego de las Casas to Fray Bartòlomé.

40. H.C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain (New York, 1907) vol. I, pp. 217 ff.

41. A partial list would include: López Martínez, Bataillon, Salomon, Pérez, Maravall, Márquez Villanueva, Gilman, Castro, Tierno Galván, inter alia.

42. "La verdad es que todo el mal ha venido de conversos", cited Pérez, Rev p. 508.

43. "Todos los pueblos, digo la parte de los officiales y cristianos viejos y labradores, ya conoscen el engaño y maldad en que los an puesto, que los conversos, como de casta dura de ceruiz, tan duros estan como el primero día sy ossasen, y destos los mas declarados en cada lugar son los tornadizos. Ansí que Vuestra Sacra Cesárea Majestad no tiene otros deseruidores sino los enemigos de Dios y los que lo fueron de vuestros avuelos". Cited Perez, Rev p. 509.
44. Gutiérrez Nieto, "Los Conversos y el Movemiento Comunero" in Hispania, Madrid, 1964 pp. 199-220. Cited p. 240. This line was adapted by Seaver as a chapter heading (p. 331). Zocodover is the main plaza of Toledo, where heretics were relaxed to the secular arm and in happier days the Republicans set up a battery to worry the Alcázar. (Trivia note: the "Café Español" of Buñuel fame is located on the western side of the plaza; the eastern end includes the "Arco de la Sangre" and the remains of the "Posada del Sevillano", setting for Cervantes' short story "La Ilustre Fregona").
45. Gutiérrez Nieto (GN op cit), p. 248. "... decía tener por seguro que las personas principalmente causantes de las alteraciones de Castilla habían sido los conversos..."
46. ibid, p. 248. "Creemos asimismo que algunas turbaciones que este Santo Oficio ha tenido estos días han dado ocasión a las que estos sus reinos y señorias al presente tienen, porque segund opinion de algunas personas de buen entendimiento e celosas del servicio de Vuestra Cesárea Majestad creen las personas a quién este Santo Oficio toca haberlas causado".
47. ibid, p. 248. "La raiz de la revuelta la han causado los conversos".
48. ibid, p. 248. "Sabrá Vra. Real Alteza que ésta ha sido y es muy honda maldad forjada y ordenada por algunos que aun no se muestran, y por otros que están ya declarados tan apasionados que los cegó la pasion a no conocerse y les viene de su naturaleza: que son hijos o descendientes o parientes de los que a los Reyes Católicos no fueron leales servidores; y otros son personas que le tienen enemistad de fe que es la mayor de todas y les toca o les pesa lo de la Santa Inquisición, y no pudieron con ofrecimiento de mucha suma de dineros alcanzar de su Cesárea Majestad algunas cosas que le pidieron contra la honra y en favor de su heretica pravedad para tener más comodidad y osadía y menos temor de cometer sus crímenes en observancia de la de Moises y esto no llaman ellos agravio por ser contra Dios a quien ellos tienen tan olvidado y no le ponen en la cuenta de los agraviados turbando toda la Inquisición de estos reinos".
49. "Se hallaron sin prepucios": Zúñiga, La Crónica, in "Curiosidades Bibliográficas", BAE, vol. 36, Madrid, 1919, p. 14.
50. GN, p. 242. "Un día, puede haber dos meses poco más o menos, que el dicho Blas venía de fuera de la puerta de la villa... e venían tras el el dicho Francisco Zamorano e el dicho Sebastian LLorente e Juan Escandón, llamando al dicho Blas: "¡Pese a tal con este puto judio que revuelva la villa, que merescia que lo matasen luego!" E el dicho Blas se allego a una casa de la puente donde este testigo cobra el alcabala... e sin que allí le dijese nada, vino el dicho Zamorano e le tiró un cochillada".
51. GN, p. 239. " No digáis nada de esto, cuerpo de Dios, sino ¡Viva el Rey y la Inquisición!"
52. GN, p. 239. "Frailes y judíos..." Cited Castro, Celestina p. 45.
53. GN, p. 242. "Perros infieles, que se volviesen cristianos..."
54. GN, p. 243. "Oh traidores bellacos, judios de Madrid! ¿Qué habéis hecho?

¿Qué concierto queréis hacer en tanto perjuicio del Rey y de vuestra villa? Todo lo hacéis, cobardes".
55. GN, p. 249. "Que común fama es en España que las Comunidades y desasosiegos que hubo en ella los años pasados fueron por inducimiento de este linaje de hombres que descienden de judíos".
56. Cf. Appendix A.

Perhaps here I should note that Pérez seeks to minimize the importance of the converso contribution to the Comunidades by pointing out that numerous New Christians fought on the royalist side as well. I for one did not find many specific instances of conversos supporting the royal cause, and the only names that Pérez adduces (López Villalobos, Zúñiga, and Vozmediano) were all conversos attached to the court and thus directly dependent upon the King for livelihood and protection. It is not to be expected that royal servants would become rabid revolutionaries. Furthermore, it is known that conversos participated in the establishment and operation of the Inquisition: does this make the Inquisition any less anti-converso?

57. GN, p. 240.
58. GN, p. 241.
59. GN, p. 241. Cf. also Cantera Burgos, Alvar García de Santa María (Madrid 1952), p. 572.
60. GN, p. 241.
61. Cf. Kamen, pp. 79-80. Cf. also J. Longhurst, "The Alumbrados of Toledo: Juan del Castillo and the Lucenas", Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, vol. 45, 1954, pp. 233-52.
62. Cited in GN, p. 241.
63. Peñalosa, op cit.
64. ibid, pp. 80-81.
65. ibid, p. 80.
66. Peñalosa, p. 83 and GN, pp. 242-43. The Pérez is of Antonio Pérez fame.
67. Peñalosa, p. 84. The three brothers, Francisco, Antonio and Luis, were famed humanists attached to the royal court; Antonio in particular was noted as an Aristotelian philosopher. Cf. A Dictionary of the Renaissance, ed. Schweitzer and Wedeck (Philosophical Library, New York) 1967, p. 170.
68. GN, p. 243-44. "Entre los que firmaron el acuerdo nos encontramos con muchos que llevan el apellido "Madrid" y cuyas ocupaciones son de sabor converso (ropero, cambiador, mercader, boticario, cerero), o apellidos tan sospechosos como los de Lobato, Franco, Negrete, de la Torre, etc. Como mucho de estos eran diputados de parroquia... el Movemiento Comunero en Madrid habría tomado un matiz marcadamente converso, Por otra parte, a algunos de los nobles rebeldes, como los Zapata y Lujan, la voz pública les atribuía sangre hebrea".
69. Seaver, p. 126. (Seaver, The Great Revolt in Castille, Boston 1928).
70. The vengeance was never carried out, as on the following day he was ungratefully lynched. It is interesting to note that Seaver translates "marranos burgaleses" as "Burgalese hogs". P. 96.
71. GN, p. 245. Cf. also Cantera, Alvar García p. 513.
72. GN, p. 245.
73. Domínguez Ortiz, p. 209.
74. Cf. N. Alonso Cortés, "Dos Médicos de los Reyes Católicos", Hispania 1951, pp. 607-657.
75. Márquez, Álvarez Gato, p. 97.
76. Fita, op cit. p. 317-320.

76. M. Bataillon, L'Érasme et L'Espagne (Librairie Droz, Paris) 1937 p. 195.
77. For Carasa, cf. Fita, op cit. p. 308-310. For Alcocer, cf. Márquez Gato, op cit. p. 40.
78. Pérez, BH p. 276.
79. Bataillon, op cit. p. 261. Núñez stated that "he would turn Muslim if within a year he did not see the noblemen humbled and if anyone should remain who had more than 100,000 maravedis of income". (Cited in Castro, The Spaniards, U. of Calif. Press, 1971) p. 342.
80. Cf. Maravall, op cit. p. 69.
81. Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, p. 55. For a geographical analysis of the converso population at Segovia at this time, see Bataillon "Les Nouveaux Chrétiens de Ségovie", Bulletin Hispanique, 1956, vol. 58.
82. Published in Fita, op cit.
83. Seaver, p. 57. Cf. also Márquez, Gato p. 97.
84. Maravall, p. 199. However, the official capitulaciones sent to Charles did not mention Inquisitional reform. As Gutiérrez Nieto states, "los comuneros no quisieron dar a la reforma del Santo Oficio un franco carácter oficial, tal vez para no proporcionar elementos de crítica a los realistas" (p. 252).
85. Kamen, p. 71. Cf. also GN, p. 244.
86. Kamen, p. 71.
87. GN, p. 259. "Había un poderoso motivo por parte de los conversos para aprovechar la menor coyuntura— en este caso, las Comunidades— que pudiera debilitar el poder real, que tantas pruebas había dado de obstinada intransigencia con sus revindicaciones y que a sus ojos encarnaba la razón de la Inquisición..."
88. Indeed, numerous historians have raised serious doubts as to the very existence of an ideological basis for the uprising. Partisans of tis "conservative" interpretation (see the following essay) have stressed the lack of articulation of clearly-defined goals on the part of the Comuneros, and point to this supposition as a basic proof for the "feudal", anarchic character of the "revolt". "Liberal" revisionists, on the other hand, have taken great pains to emphacize the pronounced (if confused) literary and intellectual expressions of revolutionary discontent, and have singled out the "Recapitulaciones" in particular as proto-constitutionalist documents expressing deep-felt sentiments concerning the ideal structure of Castillian government.
89. Cf. Vicens' all-important criticisms of Klein's "democratic" thesis, in his Economic History, op cit. pp. 256-57.
90. It should be noted that royal support for the Mesta also enabled the crown to abrogate many local "fueros", or privileges through the usage of the broad jurisdictional grants accorded to the Mesta by royal legislation.
91. Pérez, Rev pp. 37-42.
92. Cf. Hamilton, "Spanish Mercantilism before 1700" in Facts and Factors in Economic History (New York 1932) pp. 216-7; and Pérez, Rev pp. 41-42. For the background for this dispute, cf. Vicens Economic History p. 259.
93. If, indeed, it was "capitalism" at all. Cf. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Scribners, New York), 1958 p. 271
94. Here I am in substantial agreement with Pérez' criticism of Castro's interpretation of the Comunero revolution (Rev, pp. 507-514). Castro treads on safe ground as long as he spins out such platitudes as "si se habla de la 'burguesía castellana', ha de decirse como estaba formada esa clase social y cúales eran sus cuitas o venturas..." (Celestina, p. 51). So what else is new? However, to treat the Comuneros as a purely intellectual and psychological problem arising

from the existential Angst of the New Christian "caste" is to confuse the veneer of ideology for the underlying currents in history, which are social and economic in character. (Granted I am caricaturing his position; let me atone for my sins by stating my longheld conviction that we shall always be in Sr. Castro's debt, for a host of reasons). Needless to say, Pérez' argument that the conversos did not take part in the Comunidades qua conversos but rather as representatives of the urban middle class is explicable only in reference to Castro's previous arguments; otherwise it would be a stunningly idiotic tautology. Once again it is Pérez who points out the basic irrelevance of general "literary" theses to meaningful historical work in this field.

Cf. also the opinion of Domínguez Ortiz, "Historical Research on Spanish Conversos in the last 15 Years" in Hornik, Castro pp. 67-68.

95. Pérez is quite correct in insisting that the Comuneros were not a "class" in the Marxist sense, but rather a disparate group whose only unifying characteristic at first was oppositional to the present exercise of royal authority. However, as the revolution progressed, its championing of bourgeois interests versus those of the aristocracy and crown became increasingly apparent to all concerned. For other remarks on my use of the term "class", cf. note 1 above.

96. For example it is reported that Padilla had aspired without success to the Grand Mastership of Santiago, that Avalos had blamed the King for his displacement from the post of corregidor to Jerez, etc. I for one put little credence in these obvious propaganda ploys.

97. For the historiography of the revolution, see the following essay.

98. I am not stating that the Comunidades was a liberal, "democratic" revolution in the modern sense. On the contrary, the Comuneros were urban oligarchs who utilized the social discontent of an oppressed peasantry to further their own private ends. Nevertheless, representative government by the middle class, no matter how exclusive, would have been a progressive step in the direction towards modern democratic government (as the examples of England and Holland demonstrate). Guevara summed it up as follows: "lo que pedían los plebeyos de la república, es a saber, que en Castilla contribuyesen, todos fuesen iguales, todos pechasen y que a manera de señorías de Italia se gobernasen". Cited in Maravall, p. 238.

99. It is far from coincidental that the term "grandes" was used more than any other by the Comuneros to indicate their enemies. Cf. Maravall, p. 236, and Pérez, Rev pp. 478 ff.

100. Seen in this context, the appearance of the putting-out system in Castille was more important in terms of control over supply rather than its specific mode of industrial organization.

101. Sr. Vicens notes that medieval Spain never experienced an "urban revolution" as in the rest of Europe-- a fact of crucial importance for any understanding of the serious relative debility of the middle class there.

102. If was, if you will, the "last gasp of proto-capitalism" in Castille. Cf. Reitzer, "Some observations on Castillian Commerce and Finance in the Sixteenth Century", Journal of Modern History, vol. 32, 1960, p. 218. Also cf. Vicens Economic History p. 350.

103. Cf. González López, "Los Factores Económicos en el Alzamiento de las Comunidades de Castilla", Revista Hispánica Moderna, XXXI, 1965, p. 191.

104. Cf. Élena de la Souchere's statement "The Spanish Golden Age was a time of intense struggle between the converted Jews and Old Christians-- won by

the latter at the cost of establishing a nearly totalitarian society, and of driving the brilliant Jewish intellectuals of the time either to prison or to seek a fortune in America or to mysticism in a monastery". Cited in Castro, La Contienda Literaria de la Celestina (Madrid 1965) p. 24.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE COMUNEROS

1. J. Pérez, La Révolution des 'Comunidades' de Castille (henceforth: PEREZ, REV.) p. 690.
2. This section is concerned only with printed sources, and not with unedited materiél still in manuscript form. For a list of manuscript sources, cf. Pérez Rev pp. 691 ff. An important source for private correspondence for the period is Danvila (cited in bibliography and in Pérez), as well as Seaver, The Great Revolt in Castille (henceforth: SEAVER).
3. Chronologically the first work to refer to the Comuneros was A. de Castrillo's Tratado de la República, Burgos 1521. Pérez (in Rev p. 693) notes that "on y trouve des allusions discretes aux evenements".
4. For further biographical data, cf. Seaver pp. 363-4.
5. Pérez, Rev p. 695.
6. "Hic Fortuna suam praeparat tabulam lusoriam, ut vel haec regna sint ampla, excusso jugo regio, libertatem consecutura, vel servitutem multo graviorem in procerum manus subitura". Cited Seaver, p. 314, his translation.
7. His correspondence is reproduced in López de Villalobos, Algunas Obras del Doctor..., Madrid, 1886. Cited Perez Rev, p. 694.
8. "Crónica de D. Francesillo de Zúñiga" in Curiosidades Bibliográficas, ed. Adolfo de Castro, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (BAE), vol 36, Madrid 1919. p. 52
9. Márquez Villanueva, Álvarez Gato (henceforth: MARQUEZ, GATO) p. 103. Zúñiga was also the author of the famous remarks concerning the dead Comuneros of Toledo ("se hallaron sin prepucios", in the "Crónica", p. 14). Apparently the attribution of converso lineage to contemporaries was one of the more hilarious quirks in his nature. Cf. Sanford Shepard, "Crypto-Jews in Spanish Literature", Judaism, 19, 1970, pp. 103-4.
10. Cf. Seaver, pp. 364-6.
11. This affair is treated extensively in Seaver, pp. 208-13.
12. Cf. Seaver pp. 365-6; Perez Rev p. 694.
13. Carrillo's short work deals exclusively with the role of Juan de Padilla and his wife María Pacheco. Carrillo himself was a Comunero excluded from the 1522 pardon, and followed Doña María into exile in Portugal. The chronicle can be dated with some preciseness, as it describes her death in 1531.

The anonymous Discurso recounts the chronology of the Comunidad of Seville (Sept. 1520). Pérez considers it to be of dubious value, and Seaver doesn't even mention it as a source.

Diego Hernández Ortiz was a "jurado" (magistrate) of Toledo deputized by that town in 1519 to present to municipal grievances to Charles (who refused to see the delegation). He was a personal friend of Pero Lasso de la Vega, and his work propounds the same moderate point of view.

Juan de Pantigoso was a Segovian who lived there during the Comunidad. His narrative contains a very interesting description of the end of the uprising there, and the subsequent royal repression.

Sancho Cota (1480?-1546) was a converso and close friend of Zúñiga, and served in the royal court and in the court of Charles' sister Leonor of Portugal. His work contains a few references to the Comuneros, several of which are rather unique. He places emphasis on the social aspects of the revolution, and notes the strong anti-grande convictions of the Comuneros.

Francisco López de Gómara (1511-1557) wrote two Imperial chronicles, and served

both D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in Venice and Hernán Cortés in Castille and on the Algiers expedition. His Annals, a source overlooked by Seaver, sheds little light on the Comuneros, aside from the famous passage on the reasons for the revolution:

> Levantaron bandera de rebelión porque el Rey abandonaba el reino, por el servicio, por las grandes sumas de dinero que eran sacadas del reino, y porque el cargo principal de la Tesorería habia sido adjudicado a Chièvres, el arzobispado de Toledo a Guillermo de Croy, y plazas de caballeros de las órdenes militares a extranjeros.

Also of interest is a peculiar bit of folklore regarding María Pacheco and a prophecy by the witches of Granada predicting that she would one day rule Castille.

Finally, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573) was one of the most famous Aristotelian philosophers of the sixteenth century. He studied in Italy under Albertus Pius and became involved in a dispute with Erasmus in 1531. He participated in the famous Valladolid debates with Las Casas in 1550-51 regarding the treatment of the American Indians, and was later appointed Latin tutor and chronicler to the Infante Philip (replacing Guevara). His De Rebus has little importance for the historiography of the Comunero revolution.

For further information, cf. Pérez Rev pp. 693-95.

14. Cf. Seaver pp. 366-67.
15. Cf. Seaver pp. 370-72. Castro (The Spaniards, p. 341; henceforth CASTRO, SPAN) suspects him to be of converso descendency.
16. Cf. Seaver pp. 369-70. His is the only chronicle available intact in the Oberlin Library.
17. Cf. Seaver, p. 370. Mejía's Silva de Varia Lección served as the immediate source for Marlowe's Tamburlaine.
18. Cf. Seaver, pp. 367-68 and Pérez Rev p. 693.
19. Published in BAE, vol. 80. Cf. Seaver pp. 372-75 and Pérez, Rev p. 695.
20. Cf. Pérez, Rev p. 693.
21. ibid, p. 693.
22. With the notable exception of the excellent work by the English historian William Robertson, written in the mid-eighteenth century and republished with a new introduction by William Prescott in 1865 (Lippincott, Philadelphia). The History of the Reign of Charles V , vol. II, p. 20 contains Robertson's notable comparison of the Comuneros with the Glorious Revolution and of Padilla with Cromwell; this passage would be summarized by Tapia as follows--

> Los agravios de que se quejaba y los medios que proponía la cámara inglesa de los Comunes en sus contestaciones con los príncipes de la casa estuarda, se asemejan mucho a los presentados por esta junta (de los comuneros). Pero aun parece que los castellanos de aquella epoca entendían los principios de libertad mejor que cualquier otro pueblo de Europa. Sin duda habían adquirido ideas más liberales con respecto a sus derechos y prerogativas; tenían sentimientos más generosos y elevados acerca al gobierno; y descubrían una estensión de conocimientos politicos a que no llegaron los ingleses mismos, sino más de un siglo después".

Cf. Tapia, Historia de la Civilización Española, Madrid 1840, vol. III, p. 59.

23. Cf. R. Herr The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain (henceforth: HERR), p. 337.
24. Published in BAE, vol. 46, pp. 38-39. Cited in Herr, p. 341.
25. Cited in Herr, p. 343.
26. Cited in Herr, p. 343.
27. Cited in Herr, p. 344.
28. Herr, p. 344.
29. Cited in Herr, p. 346, his translation. Note the confusion of the name María Coronel with María Pacheco. While Herr points out (n. 25, p. 346) that María Coronel was a "medieval lady", there was also a María Coronel who was the mother-in-law of the leader of the Comunidad of Segovia, Juan Bravo.
30. Herr, p. 347.
31. Cited in Herr, p. 337, his translation.
32. J. Pérez, "Pour une Nouvelle Interpretation des 'Comunidades' de Castille", in the Bulletin Hispanique, vol. 65, 1963 (henceforth: PEREZ, BH) pp. 239-245.
33. G. Marañón, "Los Castillos en las Comunidades de Castilla", in Obras Completas, Madrid 1967) vol. III p. 841.
34. The statue of Juan Bravo opposite the church of San Martín in Segovia (in front of the house popularly referred to as the "Casa de Juan Bravo", though it is doubtful that he ever lived there) was erected at this time. No such memorial to Juan de Padilla exists, although I was able to locate the Casa de Maldonado (again, of dubious attribution) in Salamanca.
35. Cf. Pérez, BH p. 244.
36. Published in the collection Clásicos Castellanos, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1964, in vol. 107, ed. by Jean Sarrailh.
37. ibid, p. 28.
38. Cited in Pérez, BH p. 242.
39. op cit., pp. 43 and 58. His rhetoric makes for stirring reading. Of special importance is his reliance on Robertson (cf. n. 22 above).
40. Cited in Pérez, BH p. 239.
41. The sources are listed in a footnote on p. 97.
42. ibid, p. 100.
43. The New York Daily Tribune, Sept. 9, 1854, p. 6.
44. ibid, p. 6.
45. The series was published in London by John Lane 1907-8.
46. Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila and Zaragoza (1908) p. 11.
47. Toledo (1907) p. 132.
48. In the Medieval Town Series, pub. by J. M. Dent and Co. London, 1903.
49. ibid, p. 112.
50. ibid, p. 110.
51. Seaver, p. 376.
52. Ganivet, Idearium Espanol, Madrid 1928. p. 94.
53. 1912 saw the publication of a work of rather peripheral importance for the study of the Comunidades, Vol. I of the Cambridge Modern History, entitled The Renaissance (New York, Macmillan). The section entitled "The Catholic Kings" by H. Butler Clarke embodies some of the stock themes of the conservative intrepretation, including criticisms of individual leaders of the Comunidades. On p. 374, Padilla is called "unfit for command"; on the same page the messengers of the Santa Junta to Charles are accused of "heart failure" when they returned To Spain from the Low Countries after having prudently avoided the court. Also worth mention is the distinction made by the author between the Comuneros of Castille and the coetaneous Germanía of Valencia. For reasons unexplained, the

motives of the Comuneros are "political", whereas those of the Germanía are "social" in nature.
54. A portion of it is reproduced in Pérez, BH p. 246.
55. Pérez, BH p. 245.
56. Pérez, BH, p. 246.
57. "Descubrimiento Histórico: Un Comunero Intelectual. La protesta Comunera de 1520-21", La Ciencia Tomista, Vol. 69, 1921. pp. 361-76.
58. ibid, p. 374.
59. ibid, p. 375.
60. ibid, pp. 375-76.
61. Seaver, p. 305.
62. J. Bergamín, Mangas y Capirotes (Edit. Plutarco, Madrid), 1933. pp. 109-10.
63. Ortega Y Gasset, Obras Completas (Revista de Occidente, Madrid), 1962. Vol. III, p. 217. I assume that here the noted "liberal" is referring to Sr. Azaña.
64. Brandi, The Emperor Charles V (Trans. C.V. Wedgwood), London 1939, p. 144.
65. Alcázar Molina "Las Comunidades de Castilla", Escorial, 1944, pp. 9-38. Cited p. 10.
66. ibid, p. 15.
67. ibid, p. 15.
68. ibid, pp. 18-20.
69. ibid, pp. 21-22. This last sentence says it all.
70. ibid, p. 28.
71. "Eternal Spain" (España Eterna) is the term used by its victims to describe a certain historical aberration which, while not by any means unique to Spain, has, for various unmentionable reasons, enjoyed a particularly long-lived career there. Its major thesis is as follows: there exists a certain immutable yet largely indefinable essence which incarnates all of the spiritual features of the Spanish Volksgeist, and is possessed only by a certain select category of archangels known invariably as the "true Spaniards". These fortunate fellows proceed geneaologically from the happy union of the Celts and Iberians, who, by the time of the Visigothic sealer coating, constituted the "true stock" of the "true Spaniards". Those who descend from these lusty progenitors consider themselves to be the genuine inheritors of the mantle of glory worn by the Numantines, Viriatus (the Leo Arminius of Hesperia), and good King Roderigo; those who did not (descend) have merely for better or worse (usually worse) accidentally occupied part of the unrevindicated (but still holy) Spanish soil. That is to say, those presumptuous enough to claim the Goths as their racial and spiritual fathers are "good Spaniards", embued with certain eternal spiritual values (Catholicism, love for bull-fights, etc). Coincidentally enough, those who do not (i.e. Arabs, Berbers, Jews, Masons, Anarchists, Republicans, La Pasionaria, and their ilk) are not. Again, by coincidence, those elect of the former class usually determine the composition of the latter (à la Goering). Needless to say, such attitudes have had a serious effect upon much of what has passed as the writing of history in Spain (although I am happy to report that this situation is being rectified). For example, construed from this point of view, the history of the Middle Ages is reduced to accounts of pungent Asturian sheep-raiders instead of the enumeration of the many glories of the Caliphate of Cordoba (the Moslems being, of course, "usurpers" and "trespassers" upon "Spanish" territory).

It goes without saying that such a view can often run into certain logical difficulties. For example, all "good Spaniards" believe that the Golden Age was

the height of Spanish glory, for that was when Spain, like the hapless but noble Alonso Quijana, battled the dialectal windmills from her lonely perch as the sole defender of Christianity and Western Culture. And, not coincidentally, this was reputedly the greatest period of Spanish letters. Yet if one excludes from the rolls of honor all those "tainted" with, say, Jewish descent, then the wicket becomes somewhat sticky. (After all, it's rather difficult to envision that Golden Age without Fernando de Rojas, Luis de Leon, the blessed Juan de Ávila, Árias Montano, El Brocense, Gracián de Alderete, Florián de Ocampo, Luis de Granada, Diego Velázquez, Tomás Luis de Vitoria, Torres Naharro, Juan de Mena, Rodrigo and Sancho Cota, Zúñiga, López Villalobos, Garcia Orta, Juan del Encina, and possibly Cervantes). Add to this the fact that the patron (matron?) saint of Spain, Santa Teresa of Ávila, was of Jewish origin-- even worse, she didn't have enough finesse to be ashamed of it-- and... well, the racialist theory, like Tantalus, begins to surrender to its own contradictions.

This is not, as I stated earlier, to deny the existence of such feeble-mindedness in other countries-- the persistence of certain Völkish beliefs in modern German academic circles in spite of the cathartic effect of the destruction of the Vaterland is a case in point. The very fact that conservative reactionaries and their "intellectual" lackeys have triumphed in Spain has helped to perpetuate this mythology in the face of all reason. The job of raking away the muck is left to foreign students and, more importantly, to sensible Spaniards-- who, I am relieved to report, are reputedly to be in the great majority.

It is hoped that the above excursus helps to explain in part the unholy glee that certain philosemites and other opponents of racialist historiography exhibit every time the news reaches them that another "Old Christian" has bitten the dust-- i.e. the Inquisitonal trials of his parents have suddenly been discovered and published by a small but daring Catalan publishing house.

72. ibid, p. 38.
73. If I may be permitted a rare editorial note: all told, this is a not too injust comparison. Hannah Lynch's characterization of Charles comes readily to mind.
74. Cited in Pérez, BH p. 251.
75. Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, vol. 145, 1959, p. 23. Cited in Pérez, BH, p. 251.
76. op cit, Marañón, p. 840. Cf. also his Antonio Pérez, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1964.
77. ibid, p. 840.
78. ibid, p. 841.
79. Antonio Pérez, op cit. p. 126 Of Vol. I. Cited in Pérez, BH p. 252.
80. En Torno al Concepto del Estado en los tiempos de los Reyes Católicos, CSIC, Madrid 1956, p. 49. Cited in Pérez, BH p. 254.
81. Toledo en el Siglo XV, Madrid 1961, p. 160. Cited in Pérez, BH p. 255.
82. Pérez, BH p. 254.
83. Trevor-Davies, op cit. p. 36.
84. Harold Livermore, A History of Spain, New York 1958. P. 211.
85. Pierre Vilar, Spain: A Brief History (trans. by Brian Tate), Pergamon Press, 1967. p. 28.
86. Ubieto, Reglá, and Jover, p. 242.

87. op cit, p. 160.
88. ibid, p. 148-9.
89. Angel Oliveras Guart, Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas (Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, n.d.) p. 51.
90. ibid, p. 51.
91. Cf. Marañón, Castillos. p. 840. It should be noted that the Nationalists failed to undo all the work of their nineteenth-century Liberal predecessors. The Salamanca district of Madrid (near the American Embassy) still has three streets bearing the names Calle de Juan Bravo, Maldonado, and Padilla.
92. In Obras Completas (Edit. Oasis, S.A. Mexico City) 1966, pp. 587-605.
93. ibid, p. 588.
94. ibid, p. 589.
95. ibid, p. 591.
96. ibid, pp. 593-602.
97. ibid, p. 604.
98. ibid, p. 602.
99. The edition I used was La Época del Mercantilismo en Castilla (Aguilar, Madrid) 1963, paper.
100. ibid, p. xvii.
101. ibid, pp. 142-148.
102. ibid, pp. 143-44. It should also be noted that Sr. Larraz criticizes the Comuneros' bullionist insistence upon the maintenance of precious metals in the kingdom. Cf. p. 147: "Hay que reconocer que aunque Carlos V hubiese sido vencido por los Comuneros y la autoridad de las Cortes fortalecida y, consecuentemente, aceptada una politica de no intervención en Europa, la parte exclusivamente técnica del plan no era fácilmente concebible hacia 1520. Toda idea de restricción o condicionamiento de un flujo de oro y de plata venido de fuera habría parecido poco menos que un delito de lesa patria".
103. Cited Pérez, BH pp. 261-65.
104. ibid, p. 261.
105. ibid, pp. 262-64.
106. The edition I used, with substantial modifications of the 1948 and 1956 texts, was The Spaniards, trans. W.F. King and S. Margaretten, U. of Calif. Press, 1971.
107. ibid, p. 327.
108. ibid, p. 327.
109. ibid, p. 341.
110. op cit, p. 9. This interpretation, as we have seen, is not all that new. (The lecture was given sometime in the first half of the 1930's, as the University of Santander was an educational experiment of the Second Republic).
111. Cited Pérez, Rev p. 687, n. 1.
112. Castro, La Contienda Literaria de la Celestina (Espasa-Calpe, Madrid) 1965. p. 51.
113. ibid, p. 64.
114. Vicens, Approaches to the History of Spain (trans. J.C. Ullman), U. of Calif. Press, 1970. p. 97. Note the similarity to Castro's remark in Spaniards p. 327.
115. Vicens, "Imperio y administración en tiempos de Carlos V" in the Colloquium Charles-Quint et son temps, Paris 1959, pp. 11-12. Cited Pérez, BH p. 265.
116. Tierno, Desde El Espectáculo a la Trivialización, Madrid 1961, pp. 291-92. Cited Pérez, BH p. 265.
117. Giménez, Bartolomé de las Casas (Seville, 1953-60). Cited Pérez, BH p. 265. Chaunu, "Las Casas et la premiere crise structurelle de la colonisation espagnole",

Revue Historique, vol. 239, 1963, pp. 59-102. Cited Pérez, BH p. 265.
118. Pérez, BH p. 278.
119. Cited Pérez, BH p. 265.
120. Maravall, op cit. p. 12.
121. ibid, pp. 17-18.
122. ibid, p. 32.
123. ibid, p. 245.
124. Hornik, ed. Collected Studies in Honour of Americo Castro's 80th Year (Oxford 1965) p. 128. The identification of the conversos with the progressive elements in Castillian society also follows from Castro's researches.
125. ibid, p. 320.
126. ibid, pp. 331-2. This short essay is probably the most intelligent summary of the converso problem to date.
127. Cf. note 22 above.
128. The article is written in Spanish, and entitled "Los Factores Económicos en el Alzamiento de las Comunidades de Castilla: La Industria Textil Lanera Castellana".
129.ibid, p. 191.
130. Perez, Rev p. 12.
131. ibid, p. 13.
132. ibid, p. 13.
133. ibid, p. 687.
134. ibid, p. 688.
135. ibid, p. 690.

APPENDICES

1. Cited Pérez, BH p. 266.
2. Cantera, p. 272.
3. ibid, p. 513.
4. Seaver, p. 175.
5. Chudoba, p. 25.
6. GN, p. 218-20.
7. M. Pidal, p. 192.
8. ibid, p. 193.
9. D. Ortiz, in Hornik, p. 54.
10. ibid, p. 55.

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